THE WARS IN ENGLAND Scotland *and* Ireland.

OR,

A Impartial Account of all the *Battels*, *Sieges*, and other Remarkable *Transactions*, *Revolutions* and *Accidents*, which have happened from the beginning of the Reign of King *CHARLES* I. in 1625. to His Majesties happy Restauration, 1660

Illustrated with Pictures of some Memorable matters curiously Ingraven on Copper Plates.

By *RICHARD BURTON*.

The Fifth Eddition, very much Enlarged.

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THE HOVSE OF LORDS.

THE HOVSE OF COMMONS

TO THE
READER.

THis small Volume is intended for the use of those who cannot go to the price of a grea- and yet would willingly be informed of those derful Transactions and Revolutions which ve happened in these three Kingdoms of En- and, Scotland, and Ireland, in this last Age, d within the memory of many now living: nd though it cannot be expected that a large ccount of every particular Accident can be mprehended in this little Compendium, yet have endeavoured, without the least passion partiality, briefly to comprise the most consi- rable Matters.

Now as the things here inserted are more re- arkable, both for their Variety and quality, an it may be ever happened at any time here- fore in so short a space; so the serious perusal nd consideration thereof may be very useful nd necessary for quieting the present Discon- nts and deplorable Distractions that are ow amongst us; since these were the Fore run- ers of those miserable Wars, Ruins, and De- lations which are herein related; wherein all onds of Religion, Alliance and Friendship ere utterly destroyed. Wherein Fathers and hildren, Kindred and Acquaintance, be- ame unnatural enemies to each other; so that

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Lucian *writes of the Civil Wars of* Rome
England *in those times.*

Wars more than Civil on the *British* Plains
Then happened; and *England* Distains.
In her own Bowels her Victorious Swords;
Where Kindred Hosts Encounter, all Accords
Of Empire broke, where arm'd to Impious War,
The strength of all the shaken Land from far
Is met, known Ensigns, Ensigns do defie,
Fathers by Sons, and Sons by Fathers die.
What fury Countrey-men, what madness cou'd
Move you to feast your Foes with *English* Blood,
And chuse such Wars as could no Triumphs yield,
Whilst yet proud *Babylon* unconquer'd held.
Alas what Seas, what Lands might you have ta'ne,
With that Bloods loss which your own hands ha
drawn.

Let us all therefore who pretend to the nam
of Christians, study to be quiet, and fo
low Peace with all men; *which is the mo*
Effectual means to prevent those Confusions
Miseries which we have lately suffered, an
under the effects whereof we still groan: An
that this short Narrative may be useful to the
purpose, is the earnest and hearty desire of

Your Countrey-man and Well-wishe

RICHARD BURTON

THE WARS IN *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* &c.

BEfore we proceed to give an Account of those Unnatural Wars, Ruins and Devastations, which have happened in these Kingdoms in this Last Age, it may seem necessary by way of Introduction, to give a Relation of several previous Transactions before these Woful Calamities befel us.

Upon the 27th day of *March*, in the year 1625. King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* in the Fifty ninth Year of his Age, when he had Reigned Twenty two Years compleat: And in the afternoon of the same day *Charles* Prince of *Wales* his only Son then living was Proclaimed King of *Great Brittain*, *France*, and *Ireland*. The first thing he did, was performing the Ceremonies of his Fathers Funeral, in which the King himself in Person followed as chief Mourner immediately after the Herse; having his Train of black Velvet born up by the Twelve Peers of the Realm; at his right hand the

Earl of *Arundel*, and at his left the Earl of *Pembroke*, then proceeded to consummate the Marriage [with] *Henrietta Maria*, younger Daughter of the great H[enry] the Fourth, King of *France*, whom he had formerly [seen] in his Journey through that Country into *Spain*; [his] first complement to her when he went to meet her [at] *Dover*, was, *That he desired to be no longer Master of him than he was Servant to her*, which indeed he made g[ood] for on the day before his deplorable death, he desi[red] his Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to assure her Mo[ther] if ever she saw her again, *That his thoughts had n[ever] strayed from her, and that his Affections should be the s[ame] to the last.*

The King then called a Parliament, which assemb[led] the eighteenth of *June* following, to whom he repre[sen]ted in a short Speech, 'The urgent necessity of rai[sing] 'a Subsidy, since it would not agree with his Kin[g's] 'honour to shrink from the War with *Spain*, which [his] 'Father upon solid Considerations had by consent 'both Houses undertaken; although prevented 'death from putting it in Execution: That Money, 'sinews of War must be levied, without which n[either] 'ther Army nor Fleet could move, former contrib[u]'ons being already disbursed to a penny: That 'should seem ridiculous to all *Europe*, if he did 'now at length proceed to Action; That it was his f[ull] 'Enterprize, the success whereof would have great 'fluence upon his following Reign: That it concern[ed] 'their own Reputations herein to assist him effectual 'lest the world should judge them to have betray'd th[eir] 'King: That Celerity was necessary because of Win[ter] 'then approaching, a season prejudicial to Martial A[ction] 'temps: the Pestilence at that time Reigning in t[he] 'City, which in all probability might cause a sudd[en] 'dissolution of their Meeting: All which Argumen[ts] 'if duly considered did evidently demonstrate, Th[at] 'it was most Honourable, Opportune and safe, to u[rge] 'Expedition in the business. As for Religion and M[a]

ner of Government, he was resolved to tread in his Fathers steps, hoping that this former life had ministered no just grounds for them to suspect the contrary.

The Parliament acknowledge these Arguments for a ubsidy to be a very rational, but yet would not suddenly resolve upon it, till they had first presented their wo Petitions, concerning Reasons of Religion, and Complaint of their sufferings, which points had been offered o his Father King *James*, in the close of his last Parliament; and by his death were left hitherto unanswerd.

In both which they received competent satisfaction, nd likewise an account of the Arrears which were due o the Forces both by Sea and Land, together with an stimate of the future charge and expence of the *Spanish* War; upon which the King obtained of the Laity freely nd absolutely, Two Subsidies to be paid by Protestants, nd four from Papists; and three Subsidies from the Clergy. In this Parliament Dr. *Montague* the Kings Chapain was questioned for certain Tenets in his Answer to Book called the *Romish Gagger*; and his defence thereof, intituled *Appello ad Cæsarem*: and he being brought efore the Bar of the House, the Speaker declared their leasure; *That they would refer his Censure till the next meeting; and in the mean time he should stand committed to the Serjeants Ward, till two Thousand Pound Bail could be procured for his appearance next Sessions:* And though the King took him into Protection, as his Servant, yet his Bail-bond remained uncancelled.

Divers Laws were Enacted in this Parliament, as one *about Observation of the Lords Day*; another *for restraint of iplings in Inns, Alehouses, &c.* There passed likewise in he House of Commons *A Bill for Tunnage and Poundage*, ut this miscarried in the House of Lords, because the Commons had limited it to a year, whereas it was formerly granted to the Kings Predecessors, during their lives; it being intended to reduce the Customs to the Rate, at which they were setled in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

During

During the sitting of the Parliament, the Lord *Mordant* a Papist, and his Wife a Protestant, being both vigorous of each others Conversion, they put their cause upon a dispute between *James Usher* L. Archbishop of *Armagh*, and one *Rookwood* a Jesuite, who called himself *Beaumont*; this was acted at *Drayton* in *Northamptonshire*: the points disputed on were, *Transubstantiation*, *Praying to Saints*, *Images*, *and the Visibility of the Church*, wherein the Learned Primate so foild his Adversary, that the Lord *Mordant* was convinced and Converted to the *Protestant Religion*, and his Lady further confirmed therein.

On the Eleventh of *July*, 1626. the Parliament by reason of the sickness, Adjourned till *August* 1. and then met again at *Oxford*, where the King first by himself, and next by his two Secretaries, the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *John Cook* declared to them the necessity of setting forth a Fleet for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was the Country of the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who married the Kings Sister, and was then unjustly detained from him by the Emperour of *Germany*, and the King of *Spain*; the Lord Treasurer likewise instanced the several Sums of Money, which King *James* died indebted to the City of *London*.

This occasion'd very warm Debates in the House of Commons, who alledged, *That evil Councils guided the Kings Designs*; *That the Treasury was misimployed*, *That the necessities arose through Improvidence*: *That it would be necessary to Petition the King for a stricter hand*, *and better Council to manage his Affairs*, *That though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War*, *yet if things were managed with Contrary designs*, *and the Treasure misimployed*, *this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in Designs*, *not guided by sound Counsel*: *That it was not usual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies in one Parliament*, *and no grievances redressed*. With several other Passages of the like Nature.

They likewise very much reflected upon the miscarriages, of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was then a person of very considerable Trust: but however they pro-

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ord *M*ised to consider of the Kings desires, and presented both m a Petition against *Popish* Recusants, giving an ac- eir ca unt of their damage, ascribing certain Causes of their oishop owth, and offering divers Remedies thereunto; unto ed hi hich a satisfactory Answer (if any thing would have *thampt* tisfied) was returned: and hereupon there followed *antiati* Debate about Supplies; some were for contributing *Churc* resently: others demurr'd, as disliking the design in lversa and; and in conclusion the Major part agreed not to onvert ve: And being incensed against the Duke of *Buckingham*, they began to think of divesting him of his Offi- r con es, and to require an account of the publick Monies ment therewith he had been intrusted: all which they inten- nd th ed to include in an humble Remonstrance: to prevent himse hich the King resolved to Dissolve the Parliament; and *way*, accordingly the Usher of the Black Rod was sent from f setti he House of Lords to the Commons, who were then whi esolved into a Grand Committee; and understanding *Rhy* he Kings pleasure they caused the Speaker to keep his stly d eat, while they agreed upon a Message of Thanks to his and th Majesty for his Gracious Answer to their Petition for stanc eligion, and for his care of their Health, in giving lied i them leave to depart this dangerous time of sickness; with a dutiful declaration of their affection and Loyal- ouse ty, and of their purposing to supply him in a Parlia- *ided t* mentary way, in fit and convenient time: After which *hat* they were accordingly dissolved.

Now the War with *Spain* being intended both for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, and to prevent distur- bance in our Civil State, the Council hereupon resolved with all speed to set forth a fleet and to preserve strict Unity and Peace with *France*, *Denmark*, and the *United Provinces*, and with the *Hollanders* the King had already entred into a League Offensive & Defensive against the House of *Austria*, & likewise had promised to assist them into soliciting other Princes to enter into the same Consideration upon Condition that they should bear a fourth part of the charge of the Fleet, and in pursu- ing thereof the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of

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Holland were sent to the *Hague*, and their meeting the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, they conc ed a League for restoring the Liberties of *Germany* two last Ambassadors having no further power their Supreams.

A while after the Dissolution of the Parliament King published a Proclamation, Commanding the re of all Children of Noble men, which had been se be Educated in *Seminaries* and *Popish* Schools be Sea; that none who had received Orders from *R* should presume to confer Orders, or Exercise Ecc astical Functions in any of his Dominions; and like that the Statute be put in Execution for the de ture of Priests and Jesuits, out of his Majesties D nions.

By reason of the dissolving the Parliament, the *of Subsidies* was prevented, and the King was necessit to take up Money upon *Loan* of such Persons as we Ability to lend; and to that end he directed his ters to the Lord Lieutenants of the several Countie *return the names of those men whom they thought most su ent, the places of their Habitations, and what Sums might be judged able to lend*; and to the persons retur Letters were issued forth in the Kings Name to this pose.

That his Majesty having observed in the Presidents, Customs of former times, That all the Kings and Queens of Realm, upon extraordinary occasions have used ei to resort to those Contributions which arise from generality of Subjects, or to the private helps of so well affected in particular *by way of* loan; *in the form which as his Majesty has no doubt in the Love and Affect of his People, when they shall again Assemble in Parliam for the present he was inforced to proceed in the latter co for supply of some Portions of Treasure for divers publick S vices, which without manifold Inconveniencies to his Maje and his Kingdoms cannot be deferr'd, and therefore this be the first time that his Majesty hath required any thing of t kind, he doubts not but he shall receive such a Testimony of t*

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fection from them among other of his Subjects, and that with alacrity and readiness as may make the same so much the acceptable; especially since his Majesty required but the sum which few men would deny a Friend, and has a mind resolved expose all his Earthly Fortune for Preservation of the Gene-; *The Sum which* His Majesty requires by these pre-ents is —— *which His Majesty promiseth in the Name of himself, his Heirs, and Successors, to repay to them or their As-signs, within Eighteen Months after the payment thereof to the Collector: The Person whom his Majesty hath appointed is — to whose* hands His Majesty doth requires by them to send *within twelve days after they have received this Privy Seal; which together with the Collectors Acquittance shall be suffi-cient warrant to the Officers of Receipt for their payment thereof at the time limited: And the Collectors of the Loan* were or-dered to pay the Sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the Names of such as went about to de-lay or excuse the Payment of the Sums required.

And now about the beginning of *October* the Fleet set to Sea, the Lord *Cecil*, second Son to the Earl of *Exeter*, commanding the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* be-ing Vice Admiral at Sea; but they were surprized by so violent a storm, that the greatest part of the Navy which in all made up Fourscore Ships (some being *Dutch*) were dissipated aud scattered for seven days to-gether, and an excellent Ship with an 170 Passengers in her, were all cast away, and lost; the Design was to have surpized *Cadiz* in *Spain*, to burn the Ships in the Harbour, and to have taken the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, which was dayly expected from the *Indies*; but by reason of the Plague amongst them, and some other miscarriages of the Commanders, the business was wholly disappointed, and the Fleet returned home but four days before the Plate Fleet came.

Upon the Second of *Feburary* was the Coronation, at which the King did not pass through the City in State from the *Tower*, as was usual, but went by Water from *Whitehal* to *Westminster*, for fear of the danger of a Con-course of people; the Pestilence which raged the year, before

before not being quite ceased: The Bishop of *Lee*
as Dean of *Westminster*, should have performed the
part of the Ceremony, but being under displea
Dr. *Laud*, then Bishop of St. *Davids* supplyed his p

Divers considerable Froces had been raised both
Sea and Land, for the better Discipline of whom
old Souldiers were sent for from the *Netherlands*,
whose Industry they were brought into some good
der against the meeting of the next Parliament, wh
was summon'd to sit *Feb.* 6. And being met acco
ingly, the House of Commons chose Sir *Heneage F*
for their Speaker.

The first business they insisted upon, was the rendr
thanks to the King for his gracious Answer to their
Petition concerning Religion; then they debated of
publick Grivances, *viz.* The miscarrying of the Fl
at *Cadiz*, the evil Counsellors about the King; misi
ploying the Kings Revenue, an account of the Subsid
and three Fifteens, granted in the 21 Year of Ki
James: And in the Committee of Grievances, the
four particulars were insisted on, 1. The state of th
King in the constant Revenue of the Crown, and ho
much it had been diminished by Gifts of Lands, Gra
of Pensions, Fruitless Embassies, the Privy Purse, an
otherways. 2. The condition of the Subject in h
Freedom, about laying new impositions, multiplyin
Monopolies, Levying of Custom without Act of Par
liament, and wasting the Treasure. 3. The Cause of th
Nations good success in former times, whereby it wa
feared, Victorious and Renowned abroad, which the
judged was occasion'd by the Wisdom and Gravity o
Counsel, who ordered nothing but by publick Debate
whereby there arose a readiness in the People to assi
their Soveraign in purse and Person. 4. The present Con
dition of the Kingdom, wherein was represented the
loss of its wonted Reputation, through the ill success a
Algier in the *Palatinate*, in Count *Mansfields* Expedition
and at *Cadiz*; and this was [illegible] to the want of suc
Counsels as were formerly used; since for fear of no

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eeding, men were now afraid of venturing either persons or purses.

here was likewise a Committee concerning Religion the growth of Popery, wherein Mr. *Richard Monta-* two Books before mentioned were again questio-, and Articles drawn up against him, charging him several Passages for encouraging Popery, and draw- his Majesties Subjects from the true Religion Esta- hed into Error and Superstition, with other passa- dishonourable to the late King, and full of injurious railing Language against other Persons; as like- e that he endeavoured to raise Factions in the King- m, by casting the scandalous Name of *Puritan* upon h of his Majesties Subjects as conformed themselves the Doctrine of the Church of *Engl.* upon which the use of Commons ordered that he should be brought Exemplary Punishment, and to have his Books rnt; nor do we find that he ever made any defence, Answer to those Articles that were brought against m: It is affirmed that a while before the sitting of the rliament, Dr. *Laud* understanding from the D. of *ckingham*, that the King intended to leave Mr. *Monta-* e to a Tryal, was heard to utter these words, *I seem to a Cloud arising and threatning the Church of* England, *od in his Mercy dissipate it.*

After this the Commons question'd several persons ho were of the Council of War, upon the Affairs of he *Palatinate*, concerning the management of that busi- ess; complaint was likewise made in the House of the *Scotch* and *Irish* Nobility, for claiming precedency of the eers of *England*; of which redress was promised; but a while after the Lord *Martrevers*, Eldest Son and Heir to he Earl of *Arundel*, Married the Daughter of the late Duke of *Lenox*, contrary to the Kings Mind, who intend- ed her for the Lord *Lorn*, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Argile*; whereupon he Earl of *Arundel* was committed to the *Tower*; whereupon the Peers Petitioned to the King, alledging, *That no Peer sitting in Parliament, is to be imprisoned without Order from the House of Lords,*

unless

unleſs for Felony, Treaſon, or denying to give ſecurity f Peace. Upon this there aroſe a Diſpute, which l for the ſpace of two Months, and then the Ea ſet at Liberty.

In which time the Houſe of Commons were buſie in ſearching the *Signet-Office*, for the Origina Letter under the *Signet*, written to the Mayor of for reprieving divers Jeſuits, Prieſts, and other P Recuſants: This was reported by Mr. *Pim* Chairma the Committee for Religion; but their proceed therein was interrupted by a Maſſage from the K ſent by Sir *Richard Weſton*, Chancellor of the Exc quer, demanding a ſupply for the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* F ces. This was ſo highly reſented, that one Mr. *Cle Cook*, one of the Members openly Proteſted, *Th was better to die by a Forreign Enemy, than to be deſtr at home:* And Dr. *Turner* another of the Houſe ſeco ed him with theſe Queries.

1. *Whether the King had not loſt the Regality of the N row Seas ſince the Duke of* Buckingham *was Admir* 2. *Whether his going as Admiral in this laſt Fleet, was the cauſe of its ill ſucceſs, and return without any conſider Action?* 3. *Whether the Kings Treaſure hath not been pared by the Dukes Immenſe Liberality?* 4. *Whether he h not Ingroſſed all Offices, and preferr'd his Kindred to m places?* 5. *Whether he hath not ſold places of Judicatu* 6. *Whether* Popiſh *Recuſants have not dependence upon Mother and* Father *in Law.*

Theſe bold expreſſions ſo provoked the King, that immediately ſent Sir *Richard Weſton* to demand Sat faction of the Houſe of Commons; whe upon D *Turner* preſently after made a Speech in Vindication, a for explaining himſelf, alledging. *That what he had ſa was for the good of the Kingdom, and not reflecting upon a one in particular. That to accuſe upon common Fame, he thoug to be a Parliamentary way, and warranted by the Cannons the Church, the* Imperial *Laws, and by Ancient Preſident the Duke of* Suffolk *in King* Hen. *the Sixths time, hat in been accuſed upon Common Fame. He added likewiſe, That M*

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cellor *himself had presented some persons upon particular*
, and that he knew no reason why himself might not in
place have as ample priviledge; and the further debate
he matter being referr'd till another time; Dr.
er in the mean space writ a Letter to the Speaker
xcuse his absence, by reason of some indisposition,
to signifie his desire of putting himself wholly up-
he Judgment and Censure of Parliament.

ir *William Waller*, speaking his Opinion concerning
evances, said, *That the true Cause of them was because*
was said of Lewis the 11*th of* France *) all the Kings*
ncil Rode upon one Horse, And that therefore His Ma-
y was to be advised, as *Moses* was by *Jethro*, to make
ice of Councellors, to assist him that should be thus
lified. 1. *Noble*, not Upstarts, and of a Nights
wth. 2. *Men of Courage*, such as would execute their
n places, and not commit them to undeserving Depu-
s. 3. *Fearing God*, not inclining to false Worship or
ting between two Opinions. 4. *Dealing truly*, not
ven to Flattery, or favouring Courtship; but such as
ght be safely trusted by the King and Kingdom. 5. *Ha-*
g Covetousness, not such as lived upon other Mens
eans or that would take Bribes, or sell places in Church
State, or about the King 6. *To be many in the multi-*
de of Counsellors there being safety. 7. To judge of small
atters as well as great (the greatest being to be refer'd
the King) much less any one Councellor alone to
anage all business. 8. *Elders*, not young and unexpe-
nced Men, through whose rash and unadvised pro-
eedings, great Designs many times miscarry.

And herein he was seconded by Sir *John Eliot*, who
epresented to the House the present State of the
ingdom, and the great dishonour the King and King-
om had sustained by several miscarriages, and ill
management of Matters of the highest Trust; he like-
wise mentioned Two Presidents, the first in the 16 year
of *Hen.* 3. when the Parliament denied the Subsidies
demanded till the great Officers were Examined; and
Hugh de Burgh being found guilty of Corruption was dis-
placed

placed. Another example was in the tenth year of he 2. when Supply was required, and the Commons, plaining that the Earl of *Suffolk* then over-rule they returned Answer, *That they could not give.*

But notwithstanding these Discourses, the Comhan taking the Kings necessities into Consideration, Three Subsidies, and Three Fifteens, and that the should be brought in, as soon as the Grievances were represented, were redressed. They likewise dis sidered of the matter of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the misimploying the Revenue; and ordered that Duke should again have notice of their Intentions in: But the King observing they did not make such as he expected, to answer his last Message, summons Houses together; and by the Lord Keeper complain them, 'For not punishing Dr. *Turner*, and Mr. *Cook*, 'likewise for searching his Signet Office, and also 'fied the Duke of *Buckingham* to have acted nothing 'publick Imployment without his special Warrant, 'therefore forbid them to concern themselves any 'ther therein, as looking upon it to be Libelling 'own Government; lastly, he blamed them for be 'too sparing in the matter of Supply, and for order 'the Bill not to be brought in till their Grievanc 'were heard, and answered, which he would not add of. This was the substance of the Lord Keeper's Speec to which the King himself added:

He must also put them in mind that his Father moved their Counsel, and won by their persuasions, broke the Treaty and that he himself was their Instrument towards his Fath and was glad to be Instrumental in any thing which might please the whole Body of the Realm, nor was there any then greater Favour than the Duke whom they now traduced; but that now finding him so far intangled in a War, that he could make no honourable nor safe Retreat, they made necessity the Priviledge, and set what rate they pleased upon their Supplie a practice not very obliging *towards Kings: and where Mr.* Cook *told them,* That it was better for them to di by a Forreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at home

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n year of *he thought it to be more Houourable for a King to be*
ommons *l, and almost destroyed by a Forreign Enemy, than to*
ver-rule*sed at home.*
give. r this at a Conference of both Houses in the Pain-
he Com hamber, the Duke of *Buckingham* was commanded
ti on, V King, to explain some Expressions in the Kings
that the he Lord Chancellors Speeches, which might be
ances wt to misunderstanding; which the Duke performed
ikewise dingly, and then gave a large Account of his Ne-
ingham, tion in the *Low Countries*; as soon as the Duke
ed tha nded, the Lord *Conway* discoursed of the Treaties
tions th *enmark* and *France*, and the business of the Navy,
e such affirmed they were not done by single Counsel,
mons h King *James* himself commanded it.
mplain
. *Cook*, he Commons in answer to the Kings last Speech,
also ju ented him with a Remonstrance to this purpose;
nothing *they gratefully acknowledged His Majesties Expressions*
rrant, *ffection to his People and Parliament; That they had ta-*
s any f *Mr.* Cooks and *Dr.* Turners *words into Consideration,*
lling *I might have given a good account thereof by this time, if*
or bei *Majesties Message had not interrupted them; That they had*
orderi *Presidents of former Parliaments for searching the Letters*
ievan *his Majesty and his Secretary of State, the Signet-Office*
t add *other Records upon the like occasions; That it was the*
Speec *uestionable Priviledge of Parliaments to complain of any*
rson, of any degree, and their proceedings in relation to the
oved *ke should not prejudice either Crown or Kingdom: That*
reati *y were willing to supply his Necessities Liberally and Faith-*
Fath *ly, if Additions might be made of other things which con-*
mig *ned his Service, and were now in Consultation among them.*
then His Majesty having received it, returned this short
; *b* nswer thereunto, *That he would have them in the first*
coul *ace, Consult about matters of the greatest Importance, and*
the *at they should have time enough for other things afterward.*
ppli This happened in the year 1626. and in the Second
bere ear of his Majesties Reign; about which time the Earl
o di *Bristol* (being ordered by the King to be Examined
me by a Committee of Lords concerning his Negotiation
ade in

in *Spain*, and having been in Prison, and prohibite cess to His Majesty ever since his return) received a ter from the Lord *Conway*, wherein in order to his he propounded to him from His Majesty this Ch *Whether he would be quiet, and not be questioned for what past, and enjoy the benefit of the late Gracious pardon, or wh he would stand upon his Justification?* To which he Answ *That he did humbly acknowledge and accept of His Maj Grace and Favour*; And at the same time he Petitio the House of Lords for his Liberty, or to come Tryal; who applying themselves to his Majesty granted a Writ for the Earls comming to Parliament with a Proviso, That his Personal Attendance shoul forborn; whereupon the Earl sent another Petitio the Lords that he might be heard, both as to his Restra and of what he had to say against the Duke. which the King was much concerned, and signifie the Lords, *That it was his Royal Pleasure, that the of* Bristol *might be sent for as a Delinquent to answe Offences to the House, and his scandalizing the Duke of* Bu ingham *and His Majesty likewise by Reflection.*

Upon this the Earl was accordingly brought to Bar, and being ready to be impeacht of High Treason the Attorny General, he besought their Lordships, *tha he was a Freeman and Peer of this Realm untainted and something to say of high Consequence for his Majesties Serv he might have liberty to speak.* Which being granted h he said, *I accuse that Man the Duke of* Buckingham *of H Treason.* This unexpected procedure of the Earl, occas ned the Attorney General to draw up a charge agai him, consisting of 11 Articles containing Matters divers Natures; whereupon the Earl afterwards ga a large Account of the D. of *Buckingham*'s proceedin towards him, and then preferr'd Twelve Articles agai him; and besides these Articles against the Duk the Earl of *Bristol* exhibited Eleven others against t Lord *Conway*: the Earl likewise gave in his Answer each particular Article of his impeachment.

Now whilst these two Peers were thus contesting, t

Hou

e of Commons pre..ented an Impeachment to the
ls againſt the Du.. conſiſting of Twelve Articles,
ch of which the Duke made Replies, and the laſt of
being a matter of general Diſcourſe, it may ſeem
ſſary to inſert it, with the Dukes Anſwer thereto.
hat the Duke being a ſworn Servant of the late King,
l cauſe and provide certain Plaiſters and Potions
his late Majeſtie K. *James* in his laſt Sickneſs without
Privity of his Majeſties Phyſicians, and that al-
ough thoſe Plaiſters and Potions formerly applyed,
oduced ſuch ill Effects, as many of his Sworn Phy-
ians did diſallow as prejudicial to his Majeſties
alth, yet the Duke did apply them again to his
ajeſty; whereupon great Diſtempers, and dangerous
mptoms appeared in him, which the Phyſicians im-
ted to thoſe Adminiſtrations of the Duke, whereof
s late Majeſty alſo complained: which is an Offence
d Miſdemeanor of ſo high a Nature as may be cal-
d an Act of Tranſcendent Preſumption: And the ſaid
ommons by Proteſtation, ſaving to themſelves the li-
erties of exhibiting hereafter any other Accuſation
r impeachment againſt the Duke, and alſo of reply-
g unto what the Duke ſhall anſwer unto the ſaid Ar-
icles, do pray, That the ſaid Duke may be put to an-
wer all and every the Premiſes, and that ſuch Proceed-
ngs, Examinations, Tryals and Judgements may be up-
n every of them had, as is agreeable to Law & Juſtice.

To this Article the Duke of *Buckingham* replyed, *That*
s late Majeſty being ſick of an Ague, a Diſeaſe out of which
e Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he
und moſt advantagious to his Health? The Duke replyed, a
laiſter and Poſſet drink adminiſtred unto him by the Earl of
arwick's Phyſician, whereupon the King much deſired the
laiſter & Poſſet drink to be ſent for, & the Duke delaying it,
he King commanded a Servant of the D. to go for it, againſt
he Dukes earneſt requeſt; he humbly craving his Majeſty not
o make uſe of it, without the Advice of his own Phyſicians &
Experiment upon others; which the King ſaid he would do, &
n confidence thereof the Duke left him, and went to London,

and

and in the neath time he being abſent, the ſaid Plaiſt Poſſet drink were brought; and at the Dukes return, hi jeſty commanded the Duke to give him the Poſſet Drink; he did, the Phyſicians then preſent not ſeeming to miſli afterwards the Kings Health declining, and the Duke ing a Rumour as if his Phyſick had done his Majeſty and that he had adminiſtred Phyſick without advice Duke acquainted the King therewith, who with much content repled, They are worſe than Devils that ſa

About this time the King again earneſtly preſſe House of Commons for a ſpeedy ſupply, by their S ker Sir *Heneage Finch*, giving them to underſtand, *if there did not paſs the Bill of Subſidy by the end of the following, it would enforce him to take other Reſolutions; if by their denyal or delay any thing of ill conſequence ſh fall out either at home or abroad, he called God and Man to neſs, that he had done his part to prevent it, by calling his ple together to adviſe with him; whoſe ſitting (if they patched this according to his deſire) he reſolved to cont for the diſpatch of their Affairs; and after their Rece bring them again together the next Winter.*

Before the Commons ſent an Anſwer, they drew a Petition to his Majeſty. 'That he would be plea 'to Remove from all places of Truſt and Authority 'ſuch Perſons as were either Popiſh Recuſants, or 'cording to the Direction of former Acts of State ju 'ly to be ſuſpected to be ſuch. And herewith th likewiſe ſent a large Scrowl of the Names of all ſu Noblemen and others as continued in places of hi Truſt in the ſeveral Counties of *England*.

The Anſwer to the late Articles againſt the Duke *Buckingham*, being by him delivered into the Lor Houſe, he deſired their Lordſhips to ſend to the Co mons for a ſpeedy Reply; whereupon the Commo required a Copy of his Anſwer. But the Duke fearin what might be the Effect thereof, humbly applyed him ſelf to the Lords, whom he intreated to allow him th benefit of a free and general Pardon granted by Ki *James* in Parliament in the 21ſt Year of his Reign, a likewiſe that of the Coronation.

Pre

resently after the Commons drew up another De
tion of Grievances againſt the Duke, whom they
ved utterly to overthrow, though contrary to the
nation of the King; who being thereat incenſed,
lved the Parliament the very next day, *June* 15.
6. and committed the Earl of *Briſtol* to the Tower,
iſhing a Proclamation for burning all Copies of the
Declaration. After which the King publiſhed a De-
ation, ſhewing the Grounds and Reaſons of his Diſ-
ng this and the former Parliament.

hen ſeveral ways were reſolved on for advancing
Kings Revenue, and ſpecial care was taken by the
ncil for the levying of Cuſtoms and Impoſts upon all
rchandizes Imported and Exported as being intend-
to have been ſettled by the two laſt Parliaments, but
vented by their ſudden Diſſolution, the Forfeitures
Papiſts likewiſe, which had been miſimplyed, were
taken into a more ſtrict Account; *Privy Seals* alſo
re iſſued out, and *Benevolence* propoſed, and at length
ommiſſion for a general *Loan* was reſolved upon, as
moſt convenient Method, ſince the preſent ſtate of
airs admitted not of the way of a Parliament, and
vate Inſtructions were given to the Commiſſioners
w to manage the buſineſs, which upon their Faith,
Allegiance they were commanded to keep Secret,
not diſcloſe to any.

About this time ſome Souldiers returned from *Cadiz*,
d were Quartered in the Countries, and Money was
ed for them, which made this Loan the more unwel-
ne; and Sir *Randolph Crew* for not appearing vigorous
promoting the Loan, was diſplaced from being L. Chief
ſtice, and Sir *Nich. Hyde* advanced in his place; the
ſhop of *Lincoln* was likewiſe informed againſt in the
r *Chamber* by Sir *John Lamb*, and Dr. *Sybthorp*, for
aking againſt the Loan, and ſeeming to favour the
ritans and Nonconformiſts: Not long before
ich Biſhop *Laud*) hearing that the Biſhop of *Lincoln*
deavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the D. of *Buck-*
ham) Dreamed, *That the Biſhop came to him with Iron*
Chains

Chains, but returned free from them, that he leaped upon a departed, *& he could not overtake him*; which was after interpreted concerning the Bishops of *Lincolns* t Arms for the Parliament in *Wales*; and his being berty, when Bishop *Laud* was imprisoned in the

There were several occasions at this time whic quired considerable Supplies of Mony, for beside of the *Palatinate*, there was great propability of a with *France* upon this occasion; the *French* King, the 13. had borrowed of his Brother in Law, the of *England*, a Man of War called the *Vauntguard*, six other Marchant Ships in pursuance of a Desig gainst *Italy*, but with this express Condition, that should not be imployed against the *Protestants* at R there having been an Agreement lately made bet them and their King by the Mediation of the *E* Ambassadors; But *Mounsieur Soubize*, who was fo *Protestants* taking the Advantage of the *French* An going into *Italy*, suddenly broke that Agreement getting some small Ships together, he surprized the of *Rhee*, and some Ships in the Harbour, at which *French* King being offended, turns his whole Design *Italy* to *Rochel*; and with the seven *English* Ships u Admiral *Pennin*... ...venty *Dutch* Ships and the *F* Navy, he furiously falls upon *Soubize*, forceth him f his Fastness, and chaseth him to the Isle of *Gleron*: King of *England* was much concerned at this Actio the *French* King, as a breach of his Royal Word and manded Satisfaction; which the *French* King defer to give, the King Seized a Rich *French* Ship, and *French* King arrested the Goods of the *English* Merch in *France*, to the Value of Three Hundred Thou Pounds: but at length all was Reconciled and rest on both sides.

Thus all seemed quiet at present, till the Inso deportment of the Queens Priests, and Confessor m another Rupture; who imposed upon her to go b foot, to *Spain*, to wait upon his Servants at their din nay to walk on Foot on a Rainy Morning from So

ckingham stab'd by Felton

yn Burton & Bastuich in ye Pillory

Tumult in Scotland upon Reading ye Comon proy

ouſe to St. *James*'s, and from thence as far as *Tyburn* ows, to offer up her Prayers for the Souls of ſome *ts*, whom they ſtiled Martyrs, who were formerly cuted there; her Confeſſor himſelf riding by her Coach. Theſe and ſeveral other Arrogancies, be-juſtly charged upon the Queens *French* Domeſtick ants, they were paid off, diſcharged, and ſent home: n which the *French* Arreſted the Ships of the *Engliſh* e Merchants at *Blay Caſtle*, which was ſo ill Reſent-y his Majeſty of *Great Brittain*; that he reſolved up-Breach with *France*: But about the ſame time the *liſh* Fleet under the L. *Willoughby*, which were ſent he Aid of the *Rochellers*, were ſo ſcattered by a Storm, they could ſcarce get into ſafe Harbour.

The Aſſeſſment of the *Loan* was generally oppoſed, reupon the people of the lower Rank were ordered ppear in the *Military Yard* near St. *Martins in the Fields* ore the Lieutenant of the Tower, to be liſted for ldiers; it being thought fit, that thoſe who refuſed ſiſt with their Purſes in Common defence, ſhould forced to ſerve in their Perſons; others of better lity, were bound to appear at the Council Table; ral of whom were committed Priſoners to the *Fleet*, *ſhalſea*, *Gatehouſe*, and other Priſons, and among them *John Eliot*, who Petitioned his Majeſty, and repeated, y Preſidents, *That all manner of Aids and Taxes in for-Kings Reigns were never levied but by the general Conſent e Nobility and Commons aſſembled in Parliament.* How-r he was committed Priſoner to the *Gatehouſe*, and n the ſame Account Sir *Peter Hayman* was com-nded to ſerve his Majeſty in the *Palatinate*, which af-he had ſetled his Eſtate, he did accordingly.

Doctor *Sybthorp* and Dr. *Maynwaring*, two Eminent achers at Court, about this time preached up the ceſſity and Duty of the Loan; one of them aſſerting, t *the Prince hath Power to direct his Council, and make ws, and that Subjects, if they cannot exhibit Active O-ience, in caſe the thing commanded ſhould be againſt the w of God, or Nature, or more impoſſible, yet nevertheleſs they*

ought to yeild passive Obedience; and in all other Cases were bound to Active Obedience. The other Affirmed, *the Kings Royal Command in Imposing of Loans and though without common consent in Parliament, did Oblige Subjects Conscience upon pain of Eternal Damnation.* This Position being entertain'd by the Court with Applause the Sermon of Dr. *Sybthorp* call'd *Apostolick Obedience* was Licensed and approved of by Dr. *Laud* B. of *London*; and an expres's Command was sent from the King to Archbishop *Abbot* to License it, which he refused; whereupon having been under some disfavour before this Increased it, and he was suspended from his Archiepiscopal See, and a Commission was granted to five Bishops to Execute his Office: After which the Bishop published a Narrative of the Cause and Manner of his Suspension.

Five of those Gentlemen who were Imprisoned about the Loan, had their *Habeas Corpus* granted, and were brought to their Tryal before Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Justice; where, after arguing the Case between Council on both sides, the L. Chief Justice concluded, *That since they were committed by the Kings Authority, the Court could not free them*; so that they were remanded to Prison, till the Order came out for a General Release.

The *Irish Papists*, in hope of some Remission of the Penal Laws, offered to Furnish the King at their own Charge with a standing Army 5000 Foot and 500 Horse and a large Contribution for securing the Narrow Seas; which was opposed in *England* by Sir *John Savil*, and in *Ireland* by the Lord Primate of *Armagh*, and divers others as tending to preserve the *Papists* Interests, and sink the *Protestants*; upon which the L. Deputy moved the *Primate* to endeavour to prevail with the *Protestants* to supply the Kings Necessities; which he attempted to do in a very learned Speech, though not with the expected Success.

In 1627. being the Third Year of His Majesties Reign the Duke of *Eukingham*, to clear his Reputation, as

Charge of Negligence in his Admiralſhip, with
her Caſ ado compleated his Naval Forces, conſiſting of
ffirmed Thouſand Horſe and Foot in Ten Ships-Royal, and
ns and ty Merchant-Men; with which he ſet Sail from
did Obſ nouth, *June* 27. and publiſhed a *Manifeſto* of the
tion. s Affection to the *Reformed* Churches in *France*, and his
th App leaſure againſt the laſt miſimploying of his Ships
lick Obe nſt the *Rochellers*. But by ſeveral accidents this great
d B. o ign miſcarried, with the Death of near Two Thou-
n the common Souldiers, Thirty Priſoners of Note, and
he reſt ty four Colours taken: But notwithſtanding this
our be edition in the Iſle of *Rhee* miſcarried, yet at Sea
his Ar re was ſomewhat better Succeſs; a great *French* Ship
to five taken upon the Coaſts of *Holland*, Laden with great
the B ns, Arms, and Ammunition of all ſorts, to a very con-
nner o erable value; Sir *John Pennington* likewiſe took Thirty
ur Rich *French* Merchant-Men, homeward bound,
riſone ich were all ſafely brought to *England*; the poor re-
anted, ins of the Army which came from the Iſle of *Rhee*,
olas pſt of them *Iriſh* and *Scots*, and conſequently rude,
Caſe d boiſterous, were quartered in the Country Villages,
ſtice hich were very troubleſome to the People.

gs A At this time the *Exchequer* was very low, and ſeveral
were e Enterprizes having miſcarried, the *Rochellers* being
Ge ſo now more diſtreſſed than ever; the cauſe of theſe evil
ere gravely repreſented by Sir *Robert Cotton* to ſeveral
n of ords of the Council; whereupon it was reſolved on by the
eir ouncil, that a Parliament ſhould be called, and Writs
o H ere preſently Iſſued out; A Commiſſion likewiſe paſ-
w ſ ed under the great Seal, for raiſing Monies through
an he Kingdom in nature of an Exciſe; and the Lord
s oth reaſurer was ordered to pay Thirty Thouſand Pound
fin o *Philip Burmelack*, a *Dutch* Merchant, to be returned
ed to Sir *William Balfour* and *John Dalbier* in the *Low-*
lant *Countries*, for raiſing a Thouſand Horſe; which cauſed
to ſtrange jealouſies and ſuſpicions among the People, as
pec if theſe *German* Horſe were deſigned to inforce the pay-
ment of the Exciſe. There was ſome diſcourſe about
Rei Levying *Ship-money*, but it was declined at that time,
as becauſe of the Parliaments approaching.

In the mean time a company of *Jesuits* were a
hended in an House at *Clerkenwell*, which was de
for a *Colledge* of that Order; where among othe
persa Letter was found, discovering their Secre
signs they had laid for imbroiling Church and State

Upon the 17th of *March* 1627. the Parliament A
bled, the Commons chusing Sir *John Finch*, Spe
the King in a Speech tells the two Houses, *That the*
ness of the danger was such, as required a speedy Supply
that therefore they might rest assured it was the principal
of their meeting; wherein he hoped they will shew them
such true Patriots of the true Religion, the Laws and Lib
of this State, and the just defence of their Friends and A
now in hazard by Popish Enemies, as not to deceive his
pectations, which were very great, though indeed some
nipt, by Remembrance of the Distractions of the last Mee
The *Lord Keeper* likewise inforc'd the Kings Speech,
earnestly pressed them to consider of some speedy
for supplying his Majesties Necessities.

Before the Parliament began any debate, a Le
came to them directed, *To the Members of the House of C*
mons, called *A Speech without Doors*; discovering
Grievances and Inconveniencies of the State, from
who had been a Member of the former Parliame
The first thing taking into Consideration by the Co
mons, was the Grievances of the Kingdom, and the fi
thing Insisted on was the Case of those Gentlemen
refusing the *Loan*, and who notwithstanding their *Habe*
Corpus, were Remanded to Prison; and after a long D
bate between several Members, who asserted the Illega
ty of the Loan, and also their imprisonment for refusi
it; the Lord Chief Justice *Hyde* and several other Judg
were desired to declare themselves; who justified the
own proceedings, alledging, *That if they had granted the*
Bail upon Habeas Corpus, *it would have reflected upon the King*
as if he had unjustly imprisoned them: But in conclusion
was resolved upon the Question in the House of Co
mons *Nemine Contradicente*: 1. *That no man ought to*
restrained by the Command of the King or Privy Council, wit

some Cause of the Commitment. 2. *That the Writ of* Habeas Corpus *ought to be granted upon Request to every Man that is restrained, though by the Command of the King the Privy Council, or any other;* 3. *That if a Freeman be imprisoned by the Command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other, and the Cause of such Commitment expressed, and the same be returned upon an* Habeas Corpus *granted for the said Party, then he ought to be delivered or Bailed.*

Then the Parliament proceeded to draw up a Petition against *Popish* Recusants, consisting of these particulars. 1. *That all Laws and Statutes against Jesuits and Popish Priests, be put in power and Execution;* 2. *That a strict course be taken for the Apprehending and discovering of them.* 3. *That all Popish Recusants be prohibited from coming to Court, or within ten Miles of* London. 4. *That no place of Trust or Authority shall be committed to Popish Recusants* with several other particulars to the same purpose; which Petition was presented from the Lords and Commons to the King by the Lord Keeper, who gave a full and satisfactory Answer to every Article; after which Five Subsidies were granted to the King, which gave so great satisfaction to his Majesty, that he sent them word, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted:* A Petition was then presented against Quartering of Souldiers in the Countries, to which the King promised an answer in convenient time; whereupon the Commons fell upon the memorable *Petition of Right*, and after several of the Members had delivered their Opinions at large concerning some Clauses in it, the Lords agreed that without any Addition of Preface it should be presented to the King; the substance whereof was:

1. They do pray his most Excellent Majesty, *That no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like Charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament, and that none be called to make Answer, or to take such Oath, or to give Attendance, or be confined, or otherwise be molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for Refusal thereof.* 2. *That no Freeman be taken and imprisoned, or be dissessed [illegible] hold of Liberty, or his free Customs, or be*

out-lawed, or exiled but by the Lawful judgment of his Pe by the Laws of the Land. 3. That your Majesty would he sed to remove the Souldiers and Marriners now Billeted in s Counties; and that your People may not be so burdened f time to come. 4. That the late Commissions, for proceedi Martial Law may be revoked and annulled, and that here no Commission of like Nature may Issue forth to any Per Persons whatsoever to be Executed, lest by colour of them, of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed, or put to death con to Law, and the Franchises of the Land.

All which we most humbly pray your most Excellent Ma as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and tutes of this Realm; And that your Majesty would also vo safe to declare, That all Awards, Doings, or proceedings, the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter Consequence and Example.

After this there came a Letter from the King to House of Lords, wherein among other things, His M jesty declared it to be his Royal pleasure, which G willing he would ever continue, and constantly ma tain; *That neither he, nor his Privy Council, should or wo hereafter command to Prison, or otherwise restrain the Persons any for not lending Money, nor for any Cause which in his Co science did not concern the publick good; nor would he be dra to pretend any cause wherein his judgment was not fully satisfy*

This Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl *Strafford*) said, *Was a Letter of Grace, but that the Peo were not satisfied but by a Parliamentary way, That the deba would spend much time, That it was not directed to the Hou of Commons, and that the Petition it self would rectifie all mi takes.* When the *Petition of Right* was presented to th King, the answer following was quickly returned; *Th King willeth that Right be done according to the Law, and Cu toms of the Realm; and that the Statutes be put in due Exe cution, that his Subjects may have no cause to complain of an wrong or Oppressions, contrary to their just Rights and Liber ties; to the Preservation whereof he holds himself in Conscience as well obliged, as to that of his Prerogative.*

This Answer being read in the House of Common was

t judged Satisfactory; and therefore upon their
le Petition for a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to
etition of Right, His Majeſty to ſhew how free and
l his Conceſſions were to his Subjects, ſent them
ort but full Anſwer; *Soit Droit Fait come il eſt deſire*,
be done according to your deſire. Which anſwer
eceived with the general Joy and Satisfaction of
Houſes; and the Citizens made Bonefires, and
Bells, and his Majeſty for further ſatisfaction was
d to receive into Favour *Abbot*, Archbiſhop of *Can-*
y, Biſhop *Williams*, and ſeveral others; His Majeſty
iſe ſuffered the Commiſſion of Loan and Exciſe to
ncelled in his preſence, ſo that all Diſcontents of e-
ſide ſeemed to be baniſhed.

1628. the fourth year of his Majeſties Reign, the
ament not being ſatisfied of their former diſap-
tment about the Duke of *Buckingham*, drew up a-
er Remonſtrance againſt him, and likewiſe againſt
op *Neal* and Biſhop *Laud*, which they preſented to
King with the Bill of Subſidies; his Majeſty telling
n, *That he expected not ſuch a Return for his favourable*
wer to the Petition of Right, *and as for the Grievances he*
ld take time to conſider of them.

n Information being likewiſe Exhibited againſt the
ke in the *Star-Chamber*, for divers Offences and Miſde-
anors, an Order was made in that Court, that all pro-
dings thereupon ſhould be taken off the File, by the
gs expreſs Will and Pleaſure: And becauſe it had
n reported by a Member of Parliament, that the Duke
uld ſay at his Table, *Pish, it matters not what the Par-*
ment doth, for without my leave and Authority, they ſhall not
ble to touch the Hair of a Dog: The Duke made Pro-
tation in the Houſe of Lords, *That he never had thoſe*
rds ſo much as in his Thoughts. But the King being re-
ved to hold up the Duke, ſent ſo brisk an Anſwer to
ir Remonſtrances, as provoked the Commons (who
d ſoon forgot his Majeſties late Act of Grace) to
eſtion his taking Tunnage and Poundage; which be-
g of too valuable conſideration to be hazarded, his

Majesty obviated by Adjourning the Parliament to 20th of *October*; there being passed several Acts by the One *about the Lords Day*. Another *To restrain the sending ny to be* Popishly *bred beyond the Seas*. Another *for Confir tion of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy, and for the gr of Five Entire Subsidies upon the Temporality*, and div more.

Much about this time Dr. *Lamb*, who was in great vour with the Duke of *Buckingham* (and had been f merly twice Arraigned, once for *Necromancy*, and anot time for a *Rape*) was killed by the furious multitude *Lothbury*, who hated him both for his own sake and Dukes, he being called the Dukes Devil; and though were guarded by four Constables and their Attenda yet the Rabble struck him down, beat out one of eyes, and left him half dead on the Ground, from whe he was carried to the *Poultry-Counter*, where he died, cording to his own Prediction the year before; being tied by few, and loved of none.

The Earl of *Denbigh* having a while since sailed w Fifty Ships to the relief of *Rochel*, was repelled w much loss; so that despairing of Succes, he return back to *Plymouth*; whereupon another Expedition resolved on, with a more considerable Navy, and Duke of *Buckingham* was designed Admiral, who goi to *Portsmouth*, in order to hastning of business, one *Fe Felton* a Lieutenant, stabbed him to the heart with Knife; which the Murtherer flying, left sticking in Body, till the Duke himself dragg'd it out, and immediately after died: *Felton* was soon apprehended by the Servants, and laden with Irons, and being asked what in clined him to commit so horrid an Action? He bold answered, *He killed him for the cause of God and his Co try:* He likewise fastned a Paper in the Crown of h Hat, which intimated, *That his only Motive to this Fa was the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Du and that he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler Cause, than deliv'ring his Country from so great an Enemy. Felton* was a terwards Condemned and Hanged at *Tyburn*, and h Bod

dy hanged upon a Gibbet at *Portsmouth*.

There was observation made of divers passages pre-ing the Dukes Death, as that his Picture fell down in high Commission Chamber at *Lambeth*. That the La- *Davis*, reputed a Prophetess had foretold in *June*, t the Dukes fatal time would not come till *August*; and tly that Mr. *Towerson* of the *Custom House* was charged a Phantasm or Ghost, resembling the Dukes Father, tell him, *That if he changed not his course he should short- become a great Fairing to the City of* London, which was erwards judg'd to be accomplished by his death, ich happened the day before the Fair, that is *August* 1628.

However the Fleet set Sail under the Command of the rl of *Lindsey*, and came to the Bar of *Rochel* Haven, en there was a wonderful *Barricado* contrived by Car- al *Richlieu*, of Fourteen Hundred Yards, cross the annel; however the Earl adventured in, passing the rts and Outworks, but the Wind changing, drove Ships upon each other; which unhappy Accident de the *Rochellers* despair of Relief, and occasioned the esent surrender of the Town; after which the Earl of *ndsey* brought the Fleet safe home again.

The Parliament was to have met in *October*, but by son of some ill news during this Expedition, they re again Adjourned to *January* 20th; in which time Merchants refusing to pay Custom, had their goods zed; Complaint whereof being made to the Par- ment, the King summons the two Houses to the Ban- eting-House at *White-Hall*, and requires them to pass e promised Bill of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, for ending differences, since it was too precious a Jewel of e Crown to be so lightly forgone.

But the Commons being forward enough to take all casions to put off the Kings Requests, Answered, *That ds cause was to be prefer'd before the Kings, and they would erefore in the first place consult concerning Religion*; and ereupon appointed one Committee for *Religion*, and other for *Civil Matters*; in the last whereof there was a com-

a complaint that the *Petition of Right* had been Prin
with the Kings first Answer onely, and not with the
which was judged Satisfactory: Another complaint
likewise made about the Customs, and Mr. *Rolls* a Me
ber of the House affirmed, That it was reported so
of the Officers of the Custom-house should say, *Tho*
all the Parliament were in you, we would take your Goo
Mr. *Richard Chambers* was likewise imprisoned for say
at the Council Table, *That such great Customs and Im*
sitions were required of the Merchants in England, *as we*
no other Place, and that they were more screw'd up than un
the Turk. After which a form of submission being s
him from the *Star-Chamber* to subscribe his name the
to, he instead of owning it as a fault, underwrit the
words, *all the abovesaid Contents, I* Richard Chambers *do*
terly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false: and never
death will acknowledge any part thereof; and quoted
vers Scriptures against Oppression and Injustice.

As to the Printing the *Petition of Right*, the Prin
was questioned, and for the other, the *Farmers* of t
Customs were challenged to Answer it, but the King e
cused them, as Acting by his Command; yet this n
being clear to the Parliament, they would have procee
ed against them as Delinquents; whereupon the King se
them Word, *That in honour he could not, nor would gi*
way thereto: Which so incensed the Parliament, that th
Adjourned themselves for some days, and then meeti
again, the King adjourned them further till *March*
upon which Sir *John Eliot* stood up and accused th
Lord Treasurer *Weston*, as an Enemy to the *English* Trad
and designing to transfer it to Forreigners; which Speec
caused a further Adjournment to *March* 10. The Com
mons inraged hereat, blamed their Speaker for admit
ting the Message, and ordered Sir *John Eliot* to rea
their Remonstrance (the Speaker and Clerk refusin
to do it) which was to this purpose;

That the House had considered of the Bill for Tunnage *an*
Poundage, *but being overprest with other business, and tha*
of it self so perplext, as would require much leisure to discharg
coul

Prin *not at this time finish it; that present Session moving* the l *to any end; and lest his Majesty should hereafter, as he* aint *done heretofore, encline to Evil Spirits, or to be abused to be-* a Me *that he might justly receive the Subsidies of* Tunnage *and* ed so dage, *which they humbly declare to be against the Fun-* , *damental Laws of the Nation, and contrary to the Kings late* r *Answer to the* Petition of Right; *therefore they crave that his* or say *Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not take it* d *Ill of his Subjects refuse what is demanded by Arbitrary and un-* we *warrantable Power.*

an un Report was likewise made from the Committee of ng sions by *Oliver Cromwel*, (a fatal name afterward) e the Dr. *Neal* Bishop of *Winchester* was chiefly Instrumen- t the in procuring the Kings hand to the Pardons of Dr. rs *Manwaring*, Dr. *Maynwaring*, Mr. *Cousens*, and Mr. *Montague*, never that he had likewise preferr'd Dr. *Maynwaring* to a ed a Living, though censured by the former Parliament, disabled from holding any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Prin also that he was a Countenancer not only of *Armini-* of t *anism*, but flat *Popery*.

g e The Commons having prepared their Remonstrance is n out the Bill of *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, they required oce ir Speaker to put it to the Vote, whether it should g se presented to the King, or not; but the Speaker re- d gi ed it, and according to the Kings Order would have t the e away; but Mr. *Hollis* would not suffer him to stir eeti himself had read the Protestation of the House, con- rch ing of 3 Heads.

d th 1. *Whoever shall bring in any Innovation of Religion, or by* rad *your seek to introduce Popery, or Arminianisme, or other O-* pee *pinions disagreeing from the True and Orthodox Church, shall* Com *be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdom and Common-* lmit *wealth.* 2. *Whosoever shall Counsel or Advise the taking, or* rea *paying the Subsidies of* Tunnage *and* Poundage, *not being* asin *granted by* Parliament, *or shall be an Actor or Instrument* rein, *shall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to the Com-* a *mon-wealth.* 3. *If any man shall yield voluntarily, or pay the* tha *same, not being granted by* Parliament, *he shall be reputed a* arg *betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to the* oul *Common-wealth.*

These

These Articles were entertained with the general probation of the Members, but were much dis by the King, who immediately sent for the *Serjeant Mace* out of the House of Commons, but Sir *Miles H* took the Key from him, and locking the door, would suffer him to go forth, at which the King being much offended, he sends the Usher of the Black Ro dissolve them, who was not admitted in, whereupon King, with his Guard of *Pensioners* were resolved force their Entrance, which the *Commons* having no of, they suddenly went all out of the House; and was the end of this Parliament.

After this Dissolution the King published a Decla tion of the Cause thereof; and then question'd Ele of the Refractory Members at the Council Table, were all committed to divers Prisons. About the sa time the Marques of *Huntly*, Sheriff of the greatest p of *Scotland*, neglecting the Order of the *Council* for se ing some *Priests* and *Jesuits*, who publickly said M and committed other Insolences at *Aberdeen*, w several other Lords, who joyned with him, and refus to appear upon Summons, and had likewise given n tice to the Priests and Jesuits to escape, were proclaim ed Rebels & Traitors to the K. & Kingdom; upon whic they fled into *Eng.* The *French* K. having had much loss b the War with *Eng.* did now therefore propose and co clude a peace with the King consisting of several Article

A Paper was about this time dispersed abroad, con taining some Projects how the King might Augmen his Revenues without the help of Parliaments, upo which the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset*; and *Clare* with o thers were committed upon Information that they had dispersed some Copies of them; but Sir *David Fowl* soon cleared them, who deposed upon Oath, that it wa contrived near Sixteen years before by Sir *Robert Dudley* Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, when he was in *Italy*.

The dissolving the last Parliament procured great Animosities in the People against the Prime Ministers of State, which occasioned divers invective Libels to be dis

rsed abroad, whereof one against Bishop *Laud* was d in the *Dean* of St. *Pauls* Yard to this Effect, Laud *o thy self, be assured thy life is sought; as thou art the tain of Wickedness, repent of thy Monstruous sin before thou ken out of the World; and assure thy self*, Neither God the World can endure *such a vile Counsellor or Whis-* Another very bitter Libel was scattered against the d Treasurer *Weston*: On the other side some consider- the unsuccessfulness of this and the two former iaments, advised never for the future to call any e Parliaments; and to that end the forementioned *k of Projects* was published, and addrest to the King, posing some methods to prevent the *Impertinency* of liaments (as he called them) for time to come, by Example of *Lewis* 11th. of *France*; who pretending t the *Commons* or Third Estate, did encroach too ch upon the Nobility and Clergy, dissolved it; and er after suffered the people freely to Elect their Re- sentatives; but nominated certain Eminent Persons nself instead thereof, which is called *L' Assembly des tabiles*, or the Assembly of Chief or Principal Men; d the Methods proposed to avoid Parliaments were: 1. *To have a Fortress in every considerable Town.* 2. *To use high-wayes to be made through all such Towns.* 3. *To make e of the Inhabitants Governours of those Fortresses.* 4. *To none pass through those Towns without a Ticket.* 5. *To have Names of all Lodgers taken by Inn keepers.* 6. *To impose a neral Oath upon the Subjects not to oppose any of these Contri- nces.* And to increase the Kings Revenue, the Advice as, 1. *To demand the Tenth part of every Mans Estate,* 2. *To y in all Leases upon the Crown Lands.* 3. *To take the bene- of Salt into his own hands.* 4. *To demand a Rate for Seal- g the Weights every year.* 5. *To lay a Tax upon Wools.* 6. *Upon ery Lawyers Fee.* 7. *Upon Inns and Victualling Houses a License.* 8. *Upon all Cattle Flesh, and Horses sold in the arket.* 9. *Upon all Lands Alienated.* 10. *To set a Rate on all Offices in his Majesties Grant.* 11. *To reduce his Majesties Houshold to board wages.* 12. *To lay a Tax upon hite Meats on fasting days.* 13. *To lay an Imposition upon the*

apists

Papists Lands. 14. *To advance some Hundreds of Perso*
Honours. 15. *To prohibit excess in Apparel, which would*
the Gentry more Money, than what they were Taxed wo
mount to.

In the year 1629. one *Bellingham* was Arrested in *Fl*
street, and several Gentlemen of the *Temple* attempt
his Rescue, divers of them were wounded, and s
imprisoned; which so increased the Tumult, that
Templars made a *Barricado* at St. *Dunstans* Church, b
about Six hundred in number, and the Lord Mayor
Sheriffs, coming against them with a Company of
Train'd Bands, they boldly resisted them, killing five
them, and wounding near a hundred; but in the e
being dispersed, two of them, that is, Captain *Stam*
and Captain *Ahurb* were hanged, though great Inter
sion was made to the King for *Stamfords* Life, who
swered, *That since he had been formerly Pardoned for a Murt*
and had committed another, a Course ought to be taken to pre
a Third.

Upon *May* 29. 1630. the Queen was delivered o
Son at St. *James's* who was Christened *Charles*; a
Preserved by Providence, to succeed his Father in th
Three Kingdoms, as his Rightful Inheritance, after
Miseries of a long and tedious Exile from his Nati
Country, unto which he was at length happily Restor
with the general Consent and Acclamation of the wh
Kingdom. The King of *France*, and the Prince Elec
Palatine, represented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Ma
quis *Hamilton*, were his Godfathers, and the *Queen Mot*
of *France*, represented by the Dutches of *Richmond*
God mother. It was observed that at his Nativity a St
was seen at Noon-day, which might portend some extr
ordinary Passages of this Princes Life.

About this time Dr. *Leighton* was sentenced in the *Sta*
Chamber, to have his Body Whipt, his Fore-head Sti
matized, his Ears Crop't, his Nose Slit; for publishi
a Book called *Sions Plea*; wh rein he exhorted the
Parliament to smite the Bishops under the Fifth R
and called the Queen the Daughter of *Heth* a *Canaani*

Idolatreſs: which ſentence was accordingly inflicted
Perſon.
would *Ireland* the Papiſts preſumed on St. *Stephens* day to
l wou maſs in *Dublin*, while the Lord Chief Juſtices were
urch; who having notice thereof, ordered the
d in s Crucifixes, and Veſtments to be ſeized; and
emp *Popiſh* Aldermen were likewiſe Impriſoned for not
nd ing the Mayor; but ſome *Papiſts* making a Tumult,
tha ed the Prieſts, whom the Guards again forced to de-
, b back. Upon Information of this Riot and Inſolency
yor en Houſes were by ſpecial Order from the Council
y of d upon for his Majeſties uſe; and the Prieſts and
g fiv s ſo diſturbed, that two of them hanged themſelves.
he e ner did the Papiſts agree together, for there were
Stam Conteſts in *England* between the *Jeſuits* and Secular
nter s.
who he Earl of *Eſſex* had many years before married the
Murr Howard, who complaining of his Inſufficiency for
pre iage Duties, the Cauſe was brought to a Tryal;
t being made appear by a Jury of Midwives, and the
ed o own Confeſſion, *That he never could, and believed he*
; a *ſhould carnally know her*,: Thereupon ſentence of
n th rce between him and his Lady was pronounced by
ter Biſhops: However the Earl was reſolved to try his
Nat une once more, and thereof upon his return out
for e *Low Countries*, where he had been for ſome time
wh uldier, he now Married a Daughter of Sir *William*
lec et of *Wiltſhire*, but a while after ſhe objecting the ſame
Ma e of complaint, deſired likewiſe to be Divorced from
Mot; which the Earl eaſily conſented to, and it was done
nd rdingly.
a S n the year 1631. and the 7th of his Majeſties Reign,
xt *in* Lord *Audly*, and Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, was Tryed
his Peers upon the Petition of his own Son and Heir,
Sta Rape and *Sodomy*; many unnatural and beaſtly Actions
Stri g proved againſt him: whereupon he received Sen-
hin e to be hanged, but had the Favour to be Beheaded
la *ower Hill*. This Earl was born of a very honourable
Ri ily, and educated in the *Proteſtant* Religion, but
mi ed Papiſt to have the more liberty to commit wick-
an
edneſs

edneſs, in which he grew to ſo great a height, tha
pudently declared in the preſence of ſome Lord
*thers had their ſeveral Delights; ſome in one thing, ſom
ther; ſo his whole Delight was in damning Souls,
cing Men to ſuch Acts as might ſurely effect it.*

About this time Sir *Giles Allington* was Conve
Marrying his own Niece, and was fined Twelv
ſand Pound to the King, and to give Twenty T
Pound Bond never to cohabit, or come in private
Niece again; and both of them to do Penanc
Paul's Croſs, or St. *Maries* in *Cambridge*, which they
ingly did.

The *Proteſtants* were very much diſcontented i
that the *Papiſts* were diſcharged from paying th
Penalty of Twelve Pence a Sunday for not
Church; whereby their Number was wonderfu
creaſed. Whereupon the King recalled the Lords
ces, who then governed that Kingdom, and ſent V
Wentworth (afterward Earl of *Strafford*) thither
Deputy, as judging that theſe Diſtempers would
ter compoſed under a ſingle Government.

In the year 1633. and the 9th of his Majeſties
the King made a Journey into *Scotland*, attende
ſeveral of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality
June 18. was ſolemnly Crowned King at *Edenb*
which Solemnity being finiſhed, the King calls
liament, and paſſeth an Act for Ratification of t
Acts; Though ſome affirmed, That the Confir
of Epiſcopacy was intended thereby, and the
though in vain) oppoſed it; upon which one of
Perſons became a while after principal Man amo
Covenanters; In this *Scottiſh* Parliament, that
ſhewed them ſome ſigns of diſaffection to the King
Reaſon of ſeveral Acts which then paſſed; a
generality of the People (who without doubt we
fluenced by the greater Malecontents) would not
the Biſhop of *Dumblain*, Dean of the Kings Private
pel there, to perform Prayers twice a day after the
liſh manner; neither durſt they receive the Com

eir knees, nor wear a Surplice upon *Sunday* & *Holydays*.
ot long before his Majeſty went to *Scotland*, being
ous if poſſible to have prevented that Trouble, the
writ to a *Scottiſh* Lord who was intruſted with that
n, to bring it into *England*, that he might be Crow-
here; but the Lord returned Anſwer, *That he durſt*
e ſo falſe to his Truſt, but if his Majeſty would be pleaſed
ept thereof in Scotland, *he ſhould find theſe his People*
to yield him the higheſt Honour; but if he ſhould long defer
luty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of ano-
King. A very ſtrange and unuſual Anſwer from a Sub-
o a Prince.

Hober 13. 1633. The Queen was delivered of her Se-
Son, who was Baptized *James*, and Deſigned Duke
rk; and about that time dyed *George Abbot* L. Arch-
op of *Canterbury*, and *William Laud* Biſhop of *London*
Elected into his place.

the year 1634. the *Engliſh* Coaſts were very much
ted by Pyrates, and the Fiſhing-Trade almoſt in-
ed by the *Hollanders*, and his Majeſty having occa-
for Money to Regain his Abſolute Dominion over
Britiſh Seas, the Deſign of *Ship-money* was firſt ſet on
; and Attorney General *Noy* being conſulted about
e out of ſome old Records finds an ancient Preſident
aiſing a Tax upon the Nation, by the Authority of
King alone, for ſetting out a Navy in caſe of danger;
h was thereupon accordingly put in Execution, and
is Tax the King raiſed by Writ above Twenty Thou-
Pound a Month, though not without great diſcon-
both among the Clergy and *Laity*.

The Diſcontents in *Scotland* began to increaſe, and a
k was publiſhed charging the King with indirect
eedings in the laſt Parliament, and a tendancy to
Romiſh Belief, and to blow up theſe *Scoth* Sparks to
ame, Cardinal *Richlieu* ſent over his Chaplain, and
her Gentleman to heighten their Diſcontents: The
hor of that Book was ſeized, and found to be abet-
by the Lord *Balmerino*, the Treacherous Son of a per-
ous Father, who was thereupon Arraigned by his
Peers,

Peers, and sentenced to Death, but pardoned by th

At this time *Gregory Panzani* a Priest, was sent by the Pope with a Commission of *Oyer* and *Termin* decide the difference between the *Jesuits* and *S Priests*, and insinuating himself into the Favour o Lord *Cottington*, and Secretary *Windebank*, he endea to discover how far the King might be persuaded giving Toleration to the *Popish* Religion; as to them a *Popish* Bishop to reside here, but nominated limited by the King; and that the Pope might se *Nuncio* to the Queen; but having made some agree between the Jesuits and the Priests, *Panzani* return *Rome*, and left the further transacting of Busine Seignior *Con*, who staid in his Room.

In the year 1635. A noble Fleet was fitted out the Supply of *Ship-money*, consisting of Forty Sail, u the Earl of *Lindsey*, to scour the Seas from Pirates which time the *French* and *Hollanders* had confeder against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders* both by Land and but the *English* Fleet removed the *Hollanders* from b *Dunkirk*, and the common People inraged by the *F* insolencies at Land, rose up against them, and Ass the *Spaniard* to expel them the Countrey.

One *Robert Par* of *Shropshire*, a Man almost an dred and threescore years old, was this year brough *London* by the Earl of *Arundel* as a Rarity or Mir where he dyed soon after; though it is very probab might have lived much longer, if he had continue home, for his removal from his own Air, change of and the tediousness of so long a Journey, may be su sed to have hastened his end.

December 28. 1635. The Lady *Elizabeth* the Second Daughter was born, and to Congratulate Queens happy delivery, the *Hollander* sent an Amb dor with a present of an extraordinary value, that Massy piece of Ambergreece, Two large and al Transparent *China* Dishes. a Clock of most exce Workmanship, which was ma le by *Rodulphus* Empe of *Germany*; and likewise several curious pieces of Pain

Dr. *William Juxton*, Biſhop of *London*, about this time made Lord Treaſurer in the place of the L. *Weſton* of *Portland*, deceaſed; And now great differences e about Church matters, chiefly occaſioned by Archop *Lauds* ſtrict and zealous Enjoyning of Ceremonies, lacing the Communion-Table at the Eaſt end of the rch, upon an Aſcent with Rails, Altar-faſhion; with y other things not formerly ſtrictly inſiſted on, and vehemently oppoſed by thoſe who were uſually cal- *Puritans* and *Nonconformiſts*, which cauſed them to charged with Faction; yet ſome of the *Epiſcopal* Party erted, That the Communion Table ought to ſtand he middle of the Quire according to the Primitive ample; and a Book ſuppoſed to be writen by Dr. liams Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was Publiſhed to this pur- e.

His Majeſty conſidering the good ſucceſs of his for- r Fleet, ſits out another in the year 1636. under the mmand of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who going rthwards, ſcoured the Seas of the *Holland* Buſſes, and duced them to deſire leave of his Majeſty to Fiſh ere; which the King upon [illegible] Conſiderations gran- them.

Several Gentlemen of Quality had refuſed to pay the poſition of Ship-money, and among the reſt Mr. *Hamn* of *Buckinghamſhire*, upon which his Majeſty refers e whole buſineſs to his Twelve Judges in *Michaelmas* erm, 1636. Ten of whom, that is, *Brampton*, *Finch*, *avenport*, *Denham*, *Jones*, *Trever*, *Vernon*, *Berkly*, *Crawly*, *eſton*, gave their Judgments againſt *Hamden* and his ſſociates, and ſubſcribed their Names to be Inrolled all the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*; but *Hutton* and *Crook* efuſed it: This year *March* the 17. the Kings Thrid Daughter, the Princeſs *Anne* was born.

In the Thirteenth year of his Majeſties Reign, 1637. r. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Pryn*, and Mr. *Burton* received a ſevere enſure for writing againſt Biſhops and their Governent; they being all three ſentenced to pay Five Thouſand pounds Fine to the King, to loſe their Ears in the Pillo[illegible]

Pillory, and to be Impriſoned, which laſt two the
cordingly ſuffered.

Biſhop *Williams* of *Lincoln* having the great Seal
from him in the firſt year of his Majeſties Reign,
deeply reſented it, that ever after he ſtudied Reve
and a Bill being preferr'd againſt him in the *Star-C*
ber for ſome diſhonourable Speeches of the King
endeavoured by ſome indirect means to clear his
cence, and was therefore this year ſentenced Ten th
ſand Pounds Fine to the King, Impriſonment in
Tower during Pleaſure, to be ſuſpended *ab Officiis*
Beneficiis, from his Biſhoprick, and the Profits ther
and to be referred to the *High Commiſſion* Court, a
what concerned them.

His Majeſty deſiring an Uniformity in Religion
England and *Scotland* (a thing before deſigned by K
James) in purſuance thereof enjoyned the *Scots* the
of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, the Surplice, and other Hab
ments, and began firſt at his own Chappel; and in t
year 1637. Proclamation was made that the ſame Or
ſhould be obſerved in all Churches, wherewith the B
ſhops were contented, but not the Kirk, nor the Peop
who were ſo inraged thereat, that when the Dean of
denbourgh began to Read the Common Prayer in St. G
Church with his Surplice on *July* 13. the Council, B
ſhops, Lords, and Magiſtrates being preſent, the W
men and then the ordinary ſort of men, made ſuch a d
turbance and noiſe with Curſing, Clappling their hand
and ſo great rudeneſs, that nothing could be heard, b
their Clamours; upon which the Biſhop of *Edenbourg*
who was to preach that day, ſtept up into the Pulpit t
reprove them: which increaſing their Fury, they a
fault him with ſuch a ſhower of Stones, Seats, Stools
Cudgels, and whatever elſe was near; that his life wa
much endangered thereby and the Arch-biſhop of S
Andrews Lord Chancellor, interpoſing, was like to hav
been as rudely handled, had not the Provoſt, Bayliffs
and others with much trouble turned theſe Rioters ou
of the Church, the Dean then proceeding to read the
Servic

The Insurrection of the Apprentices at Lam

The E: of Strafford beheaded on Tower

Cheapside Cross pulled down in 164

vice-Book, though not without great noise from the ltitude about the Church. The like Disturbance hap-ned in other places, but in the Afternoon the *Book* was in read without much trouble, after which some of e Disturbers were seized and punished, but with no eat Severity; and the Ministers were promised Pro-tion and Maintenance in Reading it; so that all at esent seemed calm and quiet, till after Harvest; at ich time such a confluence of *People* came to *Eden-ough*, as gave just cause to the Council to fear an Insur-tion; to prevent which they issued out several Pro-mations, *That no Church matters should be resolved on, but t all persons depart home, unless they can shew some cause to Council, upon pain of Rebellion.*

Yet this was so little regarded by the people, that the of *Galloway* going the next day to the *Council*, was pur-ed and assaulted to them even to the *Council Chamber*; d being with difficulty got in the House, was presently compassed, and his Person peremptorily demanded; on which those within required Aid of the Provost and ouncil of *Edenbourgh*: but their Condition was as bad, ing likewise beset in their Town-house by the People, ho would not let them go out till they had subscribed, *To joyn in Opposition to the Service Book and in Petitioning that purpose.* 2. *To restore two or three of their silenced Ministers.* Which being related to the Council, the Lord *aquair* and another went in Person to the Town House here they found the Tumult somewhat quieted by these oncessions, but in coming back, they were furiously ssaulted in the *Grass*, and the L. *Traquair* was trodden nder foot, his Hat, Cloak, and white wand, was ta-en away, and himself halled to the Council-House. The ords whereof weighing their own danger, sent secretly some of those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who disliked e *Service-Book* and were then assembled in the com-on cause against it; by whom they were safely guarded rough the multitude, to their several Houses.

And now judging themselves secure, they make Pro-amation *for breaking up all Conventions, and keeping the*

Peace, which had the contrary effect. Two Peti
being presented to them: One from the common
of Men, Women and Children, the other in the n
of the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ministry, against
Service-Book and Cannons, these Petitions were sent
the King, who being offended therewith, adjourned
Term to *Sterling*, & by Proclamation forbad upon ext
mest penalty, such Tumultuous Meetings: against wh
Proclamation the Earl of *Hume*, the Lord *Lendsey*,
divers others, made Protestation; and in pursu
thereof they set up Four Table for Committees. 1. Of
Nobility. 2. Of the Gentry. 3. Of the Barons. 4. Of the
nistry, to prepare Matters for the *General Council*, con
ing of several Commissioners taken out of the other.

The next year 1638. the *Scots* entred into a *Sa*
League and Covenant as they termed it, which bein
thing of Note, I thought it not Impertinent to set do
at large (saith the Continuator of Sir *Richard*, *Ba*
Chronicle, Licensed by Authority in 1665.) since i
known to have been a matter of no less Remark
Consideration than whatever this Age hath produ
extraordinary; It was designed by the *Scots* in op
sition to the *English* Liturgy and *Service-Book*, reco
mended to them by A. B. *Land* and the *English* Prel
and ordered to be taken throughout all that Nation,
when the Parliament of *England* desired the Assista
of that Kingdom (as you will find hereafter) a Con
deracy was then entred into between both Nations;
of the conditions whereof was, *That the People as wel*
England *and* Ireland, *as* Scotland, *should take this Sol*
League and Covenant; But though it was soon laid a
in this Nation as a thing out of date, by those who p
tended higher dispensations, yet for the time it was
ceived by us from our Brethren of *Scotland* with h
veneration and esteem; but such is the mutability
Affairs below, that those things which at one time h
been held most sacred and inviolable, have at anot
time been reduced to the lowest ebb of Ignominy,
Contempt; and such was the fate of this once so ve
re

ble Oath, which by the ſame *Parliamentary* Authority which it was at firſt voted up into the ſtricteſt Obſervance, and as it were adoration, came at length to be tenced and condemned after the manner of moſt execrable Malefactors; the form of this Covenant was as loweth;

We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citis, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons ll ſorts, in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *and*, by the providence of God living under one g, and being of one Reformed Religion, having be- our eyes, the Glory of God, and the advancement the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, honour and happineſs of the Kings Majeſty and his ſterity, and the true publick liberty, ſafety, and peace the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition concluded. And calling to mind the treacherous and ody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion and ofeſſors thereof in all places, eſpecially in theſe three ngdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion; how much their rage, power and preſumption, are late, & at this time increaſed & exerciſed; whereof, the plorable Eſtate of the Church & Kingdom of *Ireland*, diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *Engl.* the dangerous ſtate of the Church and Kingdom of *otland*, are preſent and publick Teſtimonies; We have w at laſt (after other means of Supplication, Remonance, Proteſtations and Sufferings) for the preſerion of our ſelves and Religion from utter ruine and ſtruction, according to the commendable practice of ſe Kingdoms in former times, and the example of ds people in other Nations, after mature deliberati-, reſolved and determined to enter into a mutual SOEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, wherein we ſubſcribe; and each one of us for our ſelf, with r hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear:

1. *That we will ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through Grace of God; endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings,*

the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Chur
Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Govern*
against our common Enemies; the Reformation of Reli
in the Kingdoms of England *and* Ireland *in Doct*
Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Wo
God, and the examples of the best Reformed Churches:
shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three K
doms, to the nearest conjunction and Uniformity in Relig
Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Dire
for Worship and Catechizing; that we, and our posterity
us may as Brethren *live in* Faith *and* Love, *and the* Lord
delight to dwell in the midst of us. 2. *That we shall in*
manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpati
Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church Government, by Archbi
Bishops, *their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and C*
ters, Arch Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officer
pending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Sc
Prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contra
sound Doctrine and to the power of Godliness; lest we pa
of other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of
plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one
Three Kingdoms, 3. *We shall with the same sincerity,*
ty, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour wi
Estate and Lives mutually to preserve the Rights and Pr
ledges of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the King
and to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person
Authority in the preservation and the defence of the True
ligion, and Liberties of the Kingdom; that the world may
witness with our Conscience of our Loyalty, and that we ha
thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesties just powe
greatness. 4. *We shall also with all faithfulness ende*
the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendi
Malignants, or evil Instruments by hindring the Reform
of Religion, deviding the King from his People, or one
Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Part
mongst the People, contrary to this LEAGUE A
COVENANT; *that they may be brought to p*
Tryal, and receive condign Punishment, as the degree of
offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream

ture of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power om them for that effect, shall judge convenient. 5. *And hereas the happiness of a blessed Peace betwixt these King- oms, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good rovidence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately conclud- d and setled by both Parliaments; we shall each one of us, ac- rding to our place and interest, endeavour that they may re- ain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all posterity, and hat Justice may be done upon the wilful oppressers thereof, in man- er expressed in the precedent Article.* 6. *We shall also, accord- ng to our places and callings, in this common cause of Religi- n, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all hose that enter into this* LEAGUE AND COVENANT, *n the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer our elves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, Per- wasion or Terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this lessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the ontrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerns the Glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatever, and what we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.*

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and danger, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and the sins of these Kingdoms; especially, that we have not as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions, so much abounding amongst us:

us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for our selves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this COVENANT we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts, with a true intention to perform the same as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all Hearts shall be discloſed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, honour and incouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoak of Antichristian tyranny, to joyn in the same or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and common-wealths.

This Covenant the *Scots* were resolved to maintain, and to that purpose they sent for General *Lesly* and other Officers from beyond Sea, providing themselves likewise with Arms and Ammunition; whilst D. *Hamilton*, who was appointed to allay these heats and Distempers, seemed secretly to foment them, by spending a great deal of time in Declarations, Proclamations, Messages and Letters; and afterwards makes such Propositions to the *Confederates* about calling a *General Assembly*, as were very distastful to the *Covenanters*, and increased their Fury. Whereupon *Hamilton* obtained of the King the Sole and Unlimited Power of Managing that Affair, and then acquainted them with a Declaration which he had procured of the King; *That he did discharge the Service-Book, Book of Canons and high Commission, and likewise did annul and rescind all Acts for establishing them, and did discharge the urging the practice of the Five Articles of* Perth; *and that all persons whomsoever shall be liable to the Censure of Parliament*

ment, General Assembly, or any other Judicatories; according to the nature of the Offence; That the Ancient Confession of Faith and Band annexed, shall be subscribed and received as K. James's time: That a *General Assembly* be holden at *Glascow, Nov.* 21. 1638. and a *Parliament* at *Edenborough*, *May* 15. 1639. All former Offences to be pardoned, and a *General Fast* appointed.

This Declaration being published, the Marquess and Council subscribed the *Covenanters Confession of Faith*, &c. but still some matter remained for a *Protestation*, which was read by one *Johnston*; wherein the People were exported to consider with whom they had to deal: and exceptions were made against Bishops, and their Voting in the *Assembly*: After this they Elect Commissioners for the *Assembly*, whom they cite to move the Arch-Bishops and Bishops to appear there, as Guilty Persons: which being refused, they themselves present a Bill of complaint against them to the Presbytery at *Edenborough*, who accordingly warned them to appear at the next *General Assembly*: At their meeting the Bishops sent in a Protestation against their *Assembly*, which the Covenanters would not vouchsafe to read; but presumed to forbid six Lords of the Privy Council to sit in their *Assembly*, though nominated by the King. His Majesty having notice of their proceedings, as to the Bishops, and other matters, ordered their *Assembly* to be dissolved, which was done accordingly *Nov.* 21. 1638. and the Covenanters immediately according to their usual method, Issued out a *Protestation* against it, and likewise declared 6 former Meetings (which were opposite to their ways) to be void, and of none Effect; and soon after they abolished *Episcopacy*, and then prepared for a War, as being sensible that the King would maintain the Rights of the Bishops, and would likewise strictly call them to Account for their late Transactions.

About this time a Letter was sent by the *Scots* to the King of *France*, to implore his Assistance signed by several of the Nobility. The King of *England* prepares an Army for *Scotland*, with which in the year 1639. he

marched in Perſon into the North; but while he ſt
at *York* ſome of the *Scots* Nobility tampered with the
liſh, telling them that the ruine of the *Scots* would
able the King to be more ſevere toward his *Engliſh*
jects; by which Intelligence and Correſpondence it
evident that the *Engliſh* had no mind to Fight, th
their Army was much ſtronger than the *Scots*; wh
upon by the Mediation of ſome Perſons a Treat
Peace was begun, and ſoon finiſhed; wherein it
agreed, that his Majeſty ſhould publiſh a Declarat
whereby all ſhould be confirmed which his Commi
ners had promiſſed in his Name, That a *General Aſſe*
and a *Parliament* be held at *Edenbourgh* in aſhort ti
And laſtly, That upon disbanding their Forces, diſſol
their Councils, and reſtoring the King to his Forts
Caſtles, *&c.* the King was to recal his Fleet and For
and make reſtitution of their Goods ſince the breach.

The Kings Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed,
the *Covenanters* ſet forth another *Proteſtation* for adh
ing to their *Aſſembly* at *Glaſcow*, and their *Covenant*; wh
upon the King, who intended to be preſent at th
General Aſſembly, not finding the *Scots* punctual in perfo
ing Articles, and perceiving they would treat of ſo
matters diſtaſteful to him, goes into *England* after wh
the *Aſſembly* ſate at *Edenbourgh*, and aboliſhed *Apiſcop*
the *Liturgy*, *High Commiſſion* and *Book of Canons*;
then made ſeveral demands of the King of a various
ture.

His Majeſty underſtanding how things went, and th
the *Scots* levyed Taxes, and prepared Arms, he co
manded by his Commiſſioner, the Earl of *Traquair*, t
their *Parliament* ſhould be adjourned for ſome tim
but the *Covenanters* declared againſt this Command, a
ſent a Remonſtrance to the King; and afterward *Ham*
ton and *Traquair*, likewiſe came to *London*, where the
were ſuch proceedings, as did the more exaſperate th
the jarring parties againſt each other.

In this year 1639. a *Spaniſh* Fleet of near Seventy Sa
and Twenty five thouſand Men, deſigned to be lande

Dunkirk for the relief of *Flanders*, were ſet upon by e *Dutch* in the *Downs*, and Eleven of them taken and nt into *Holland*; three periſhed upon the Coaſt of rance, one near *Dover*, and Five were ſunk in the Fight. hat the real intent of this Fleet was, is yet uncertain; r it ſeemed unlikely that Twenty five thouſand Men ould be ſent only for a Recruit, and the Admiral's re-ſing to ſhew his Commiſſion when required thereto the King, makes it ſeem yet more ſuſpicious.

The *Scots* Cummiſſioners having delivered their Meſ-ge, return home to *Edenbourgh*, *Novemb.* 19. 1639. the me night that a great part of the Caſtle-Wall fell down, d the *Anniverſary* of the Kings Birth day. A while after e King ſent the Lord *Eſtrich*, and others, to repair the alls, who were reſiſted by the *Covenanters*, as not judg-g the Lord *Eſtrich* to be a fit Governour for the Caſtle; hich Office was deſigned him by the King. The King eing hereat extreamly offended, reſolved, ſince fair eans would not prevail, to force the *Scots* to Reaſon; nd to that end conſiders how to make proviſions for en and Money; and calling a ſecret Cabinet Council, conſiſting only of Arch-biſhop *Laud*, the Earl of *Straf-ord*, and Duke *Hamilton* (who drove on his own parti-ular intereſt) it was concluded, *That for the Kings ſupply a Parliament muſt be called in* Engl. *and another in* Ireland; ut becauſe the Debates of Parliament would take up ome time, it was reſolved, that the Lords ſhould ſub-cribe to lend the King Money: The Earl of *Strafford* ubſcribed Twenty thouſand pound, the Duke of *Rich-mond* as much; but *Hamilton* pretended poverty, preſer-ving his Money for other uſes; the reſt of the Lords, Judges, Officers, and other Dependants, and many of he Gentry, yea, even ſeveral *Popiſh* Recuſants, contribut-ed according to their Ability.

The *Scots* on the other ſide foreſeeing the ſtorm, pre-pared for their own defence, making Treaties in *Den-mark*, *Sweden*, *Holland* and *Poland*; and the *Jeſuits*, (who are never idle) did likewiſe endeavour to foment the differences; to which end *Con* the Popes *Nuncio*, Sir *Tob. Matthews*

Matthews, *Read*, and *Maxwel*, two *Scots*, endeavou
to perſuade the diſcontented People, *That the King*
ſigned to enſlave them to his Will *and Pleaſure*. Which pra
ces of theirs were diſcovered by *Andreas Habernsfield*
Nobleman of *Bohemia*, who declared, That many of
Nobility of *England*, and chief Favorites at Court, w
conſenting to theſe Tranſactions, and particularly
Earl and Counteſs of *Arundel*, Secretary *Windebank*,
Endymion Porter. *Con* alſo performed the part of a F
brand, as all his Succeſſors, the Popes Nuncio's that ca
after him, did likewiſe; and had formerly offered
Cardinals Cap to the ArchBiſhop of *Canterbury*, in
Popes Name.

In the year 1640. and the Sixteenth of the King,
Parliament was called at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 13. in wh
theEarl of *Strafford* was highly honoured for his good ſe
vice in *Ireland*, in obtaining four Subſides, to maint
Ten thouſand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horſe. A
that *England* might follow this Example, the King t
the Parliament, that if they would ſupply him, ſo as
ſuppreſs the inſolencies of the *Scots*, he would acq
his claim to *Ship-money*, and give ſatisfaction to th
juſt demands. By which propoſals the Parliament we
ſenſible of the Kings Neceſſities, and therefore requ
red ſatisfaction, 1. *For clearing the Property of the Su*
ject, 2. *For eſtabliſhing the True Religion*. 3. *For Pr*
viledges of Parliament.

But whilſt they were debating whether the Grieva
ces of the People, or the Kings Supply ſhould be firſt co
ſidered, and matters were in an hopful poſture, Secr
tary *Vane*, either accidentally, or on purpoſe, overthre
all at once, by declaring that the King required Twel
Subſidies, whereas he at that time only deſired ſi
which ſo much inraged the Houſe, and made things ſo ill
that by the Advice of the *Juncto* the Parliament was di
ſolved, having only ſate twenty two days: howeve
the Privy Council likewiſe adviſed their Diſſolving, be
ing aſſured the heats in the *Houſe of Commons* were ſo
great, that they intended that very day to have vote
againſt

gainſt the War with *Scotland*; whereby the King would ave been in a worſe condition than before their ſit-g.

About the ſame time a Convocation of Biſhops ſate, ith Commiſſion to make ſuch Canons as they judged r the peace of the Church; and amongſt other things, ey impoſed an Oath called, *&c.* (*Et Cætera*) as an nti-covenant againſt the *Scots*; which becauſe it oc-aſion'd much difference, may not be unfitly inſer-d.

A. B. *Do ſwear that I do approve the Doctrine and Diſcipline or Government eſtabliſhed in the Church of* Eng-nd, *as containing all things neceſſary to Salvation; and hat I will not endeavour, by my ſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any* Popiſh *Doctrine, contrary to that ſo ſtabliſhed; nor will I ever give my conſent to alter the Govern-ment of this Church by Archbiſhops, Deans, and Arch Dea-ons* ——— *&c.* (Et cætera, *and ſo forth*) *as it ſtands ow eſtabliſhed, and as by right it ought to ſtand, nor yet ever o ſubject it to the Uſurpations and Superſtitions of the See of* Rome: *And all theſe things do I plainly and ſincerely acknow-dge and ſwear, according to the plain and common ſenſe or un-erſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equivocation, men-al Evaſion, or ſecret Reſervation whatſoever. And this I do eartily, willingly and truly, upon the faith of a Chriſtian.* So elp me God in Jeſus Chriſt. This Oath was impoſed pon all Miniſters, and was excepted againſt for three Reaſons, 1. Becauſe the (*Et cætera*) did leave the Oath o looſe, that neither the Makers nor Takers thereof un-derſtood the ſame. 2. For that exacting an Oath of Diſ-ent from Civil Eſtabliſhment in things of Indifferen-y, was an Affront to the very Fundamentals of Go-ernment. 3. and laſtly, That the Juror therein de-clares he ſwears willingly, to which he was conſtrained under the higheſt penalties. This was the chief buſineſs of this Convocation, which ended *May* 26. 1640.

Arch-biſhop *Laud* by his earneſt proceedings againſt Nonconformiſts and ſuch as were called *Puritans*, and by his ſtrict enjoyning of Ceremonies, eſpecially reviving

old

old Ceremonies which had not been lately obſerved, s the
cured much hatred to himſelf from the People, par he Ar
larly the *Londoners*, who had a particular diſguſt ag the N
him, for his ſeverity upon Mr. *Burton*, *Pryn*, and *Baſt* ed of
inſomuch, that upon *May* 9. 1640. a Paper was fi ated
upon the *Royal Exchange*, inciting the Apprentices to but i
and ſack his Houſe at *Lambeth* the Monday after; w 300
they were the more inclined to do, becauſe it was *Scotc*
ported that he was the chief inſtigator of the King to r, be
ſolve the laſt Parliament; but the Arch-Biſhop had ired
tice of their Deſign, and provided accordingly; h s to t
ever upon Monday at midnight about Five Hundred hereu
them beſet his Houſe, and endeavoured to enter, e Riv
were repulſed and forced to depart; having in ſo rs, w
meaſure vented their Spleen in words, and breaking *Laſby*
Glaſs-Windows. The next day many of them were y Ge
prehended and impriſoned, but three days after th outly
were forcibly reſcued from thence by their Companio ere p
who broke open the Priſon doors; for which one pon w
the Ring leaders was drawn, hanged and quartred, a elcon
his head and quarters ſet upon *London-Bridge*. indin

The King grew daily more offended againſt the *Sc* g th
and calls a Select *Junćto* to conſult abou them, where *Durha*
Earl of *Strafford* deliv red his mind in ſuch Terms and
were afterward made uſe of to his Deſtruction; War reats
gainſt them was reſolved on, and Money was to be pr ow
cured one way or other; the City of *London* wa invited pon
lend, but refuſed, and pleaded poverty, being diſlaſh Th
it ſeems at ſome proceedings in the *Star-Chamber* abo bels
their Plantation of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, which w hat
judged to be forfeited for ſome alledged miſdemeano Chur
and the Undertakers fined, yet the Citizens were w hem
ling to offer a large Sum, for the building a magnifice com
Palace for the King in St. *James*'s *Park*, which took no eby h
effect: The Gentry contributed indifferent freely; ſo th lar
with their Aſſiſtance the Royal Army was compleated ing
the King himſelf being *Generaliſſimo*, the Earl of *Nor* out
thumberland General, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutena the
General; *Northumberland* falls ſick, and therefore the Kin liſh
take

ved, s the Command upon himſelf, and ſends away part
par he Army, Horſe and Foot under the Lord *Conway*
ag the North. *July* 20th. 1640. the Queen was deli-
Baſt ed of a Son, who was Chriſtened *Henry*, afterward
vas f ated Duke of *Gloceſter*. In the mean time the L. *Conway*
s to but ill Succeſs, for having drawn about 1200 Horſe
; wh 3000 Foot to ſecure the Paſſes upon the River *Tyne*,
was *Scotch* Army under their General *Leſly* advanced thi-
g to r, better provided than before; and *Auguſt* 27. *Leſly*
had ired leave of the L. *Conway* for his whole Army to
; h s to the King with their Petition, which was denied:
dred hereupon about 300 *Scotch* Horſe attempted to paſs
er, e River, but were beaten back by the *Engliſh* Muſque-
n ſo rs, who were placed under a Breaſt-work.
ing *Leſly* comes on with his Horſe, and charges Commiſ-
ere y General *Wilmot*, who maintained the ground very
r th outly till overborn with multitude and Cannon, they
anio ere put to a diſorderly Retreat both Horſe and Foot;
one pon which the L. *Conway* haſts to the King with the un-
d, a elcome News; Sir *Jacob Aſtly*, Governour of *Newcaſtle*
nding himſelf unable to defend the place, deſerts it, ſink-
S ng the great Guns in the River, whereby *Newcaſtle* and
ere *Durham* came in a ſhort time into the hands of the *Scots*.
rms And now *Strafford* comes up, with whom the King re-
Var reats to *York* and ſtays there while *Strafford*, who was
p now ſole Commander, charges the whole miſcarriage
ted pon *Conway*, who as ſtoutly denies it.
laſt The King had formerly declared the *Scots* to be Re-
abo bels and Traytors by Proclamation, and commanded
h w hat publick Prayers ſhould be put up againſt them in all
non Churches, but at this time he is contented to treat with
wi hem; and to that end he receives a Petition from them
ice complaining of their Grievances: To which he anſwers
o e by his Secretary of *Scotland* that he expects their particu-
th lar demands, which he receives in three days, all tend-
te ing to require a Parliament to be called in *England*, with-
Wo out which there could be no ſatisfactory redreſs for them;
nan they had likewiſe before their March into *England* pub-
Kin liſhed a Declaration called, *The Intentions of the Army*,
ake

viz.

viz. *Not to lay down Arms till the Reformed Religion ſetled in both Nations upon ſure grounds, and the Cauſers and bettors of their preſent troubles, that is, Arch-Biſhop* Laud *the Earl of* Strafford, *were brought to publick Juſtice in Parliament.* At the ſame time twelve *Engliſh* Peers, the Earls of *Bedford, Hartford, Eſſex, Warwick, Mulgr, Briſtol, Bullingbrook, Say* and *Seal Mandevil, Howard, E* and *Paget* drew up a Petition which they delivered the King, for the ſitting of the Parliament: After wh divers others were preſented to the ſame purpoſe f the City of *London*, and ſeveral other parts of the Ki dom; all centring in this, that nothing could reli the Preſſures of the Kingdom but a Parliament.

To this the King condeſcends in part, giving ho likewiſe of further ſatisfaction ere long; and for the p ſent Summons the Lords to appear at *York*, *Sep.* which they did, and upon the firſt day of their meet it was agreed, That a Parliament ſhould be called to m *November* 3. following, and then (for the relief of *North* ſorely ſuffering under *Leſlies* Army, the Biſhopri of *Durham* being then taxed 360 *l.* and *Northumberla* 300 *l.* a day,) it was reſolved, that a Treaty ſhould be on Foot, and that Sixteen *Engliſh* Lords, ſhould me with as many *Scots*, and *York* was propoſed for the pla of Treaty, which the *Scotſh* Commiſſioners refuſed, not judging it ſafe by reaſon of the preſence of the Ea of *Strafford*, who had proclaimed them Traytors in *Ir land*, and was now chief Commander of the Kings Arm & a Capital Enemy to their Nation, & againſt whom the had matter of high complaint; therefore it was conclu ded to be held at *Rippon*, where among other things it wa agreed, that the *Scottiſh* Army ſhould be maintained b the *Engliſh* till the Treaty was ended, and peace ſecu red; that there ſhould be a ſafe Convoy for all Letters be tween the *Scots* and the Parliament of *England*. The firſt of theſe Articles ſeemed unreaſonble and diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* Nation: and the Earl of *Strafford* was ſo offended thereat, that he deſired leave of the King to give them Battel, and *was willing (as he writ to Arch-*

Biſhop

Laud) *to undertake upon the Peril of his Head, with his Army of Engliſh Graſhoppers to beat thoſe Sons of Anak* home, in, for ſo much Superiour were the *Scots* then oc-nted to the *Engliſh* as to matter of Souldiers; but *ber* 16. the *Engliſh* Commanders, whether through r, Favour ~~or~~ out of a Political Maxim not to fight nſt the *Scots*, condeſcended to Articles of Agreement, ch were afterward ſigned by the King himſelf.

This Treaty of *Rippon* was but previous to another of her Importance at *London* for a general concluding making up all differences between the King and his jects of *Scotland*; during which Treaty, *James* Earl *Montroſs* made ſeveral Applications to the King, and Letters offered his Service to him, teſtifying his diſe of the *Scottiſh* Proceedings; but theſe his Letters re ſaid to have been ſecretly taken out of the Kings ckets, and conveyed to the *Covenanters* by the means *Hamilton*; who underſtanding *Montroſs* his deſign, uſed all ans to render him odious to the People, and ſo unſer-eable to the King.

And now the time approached for the ſitting of the rliament, who accordingly met, *November* 3. 1640. hich was looked upon by Arch-Biſhop *Laud* as a fatal y for Summoning of Parliaments, in reference to hurch-matters; the Parliament in King *Henry* the ighth's time, which pulled down Abbies and Monaſte-s, being likewiſe Aſſembled upon *November* 3. Where-on he adviſed the King for lucks ſake to put off their eeting for 2 or 3 days, but the King not minding any ch Obſervations, did not regard it.

To give ſome Account of the temper of thoſe times, may not be amiſs to repeat the words of a Perſon of onour, who was then a Member of the Houſe of Com-ons, and hath lately publiſhed ſome Paſſages concern-g that Parliament.

'Never Parliament (ſaith he) was aſſembled when the People were in an higher diſcontent than at this time ſuch a general Diffidence there was, as they thought themſelves ſure of nothing; the increaſe of

'Cere-

'Ceremonies made them fear the approach of a
'ligion hateful to them; the late busines of *Ship*
'together with some Impositions, without the con
'of Parliament caused them to apprehend the lo
'Property in their Estates, and they had little hop
'Redress by Parliament, because his then Majesty
'been so unhappy as to be put upon a sudden Dissolu
'of all Parliaments formerly by him called: Th
'wanted not Persons ill disposed, and seditious to tr
'pet these things in the ears of the generality, whe
'they incensed them so far, as thereby they found m
'to raise a Power against their Sovereign.

Mr. *William Lenthal* was chosen Speaker of the H
of *Commons*, and the King in a Speech tells them, that
Scottish Troubles were the Cause of their present M
ing, and therefore requires them to consider of the m
expedient means for casting them out, and then prom
that he will heartily and clearly concur with them for
satisfying their just Grievances: After which, he g
them an account of his want of Money for the maint
ing of his Army, and how dishonourable it would be to
English Nation, if his Army should be disbanded bef
the *Scots* were put out of the Kingdom; and desired th
to consider of the Oppression of the *Northern* Coun
during the Treaty.

It was ill resented by many that the King should
the *Scots* Rebels, whereupon he took occasion to
them, that he must needs call them Rebels, as lon
they have an Army which did invade *England*
Commons then Voted down all Monopolies, and all
Members as had any benefit by them were expelled
of the House; Complaint was made in the House
Lords against Sir *William Beecher*, one of the Clerks
the Council, for violating their Priviledges in search
the Earl of *Warwicks*, and the Lord *Brooks* Studies, C
binets and Pockets, upon the dissolving the last Parl
ment; upon which he was committed Prisoner to
Fleet, though he pleaded the Command of the Secret
of State for his so doing. The E. of *Strafford* is Impeach

High Treaſon by the *Commons* in the Houſe of Lords, ereupon he is ſequeſtred from the Houſe, and likewiſe Friend Sir *George Ratcliff* is ſent for out of *Ireland* by a jeant at Arms: In the mean time the Biſhop of *Lin-*, who was Priſoner in the *Tower* is releaſed; and like- e Mr. *Pryn* and Mr. *Burton*, who are brought in great iumph to *London*, and *December* 3. they preſented their ition againſt their Proſecutors.

And now the *Papiſts* begin to fear a Cloud, for Juſtice *ward* was to deliver up a Catalogue of all Recuſants hin the Liberties of *Weſtminſter*, to prevent which he s ſtabbed by one Mr. *John James* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; which he was impriſoned in the *Gate-houſe* in order a more ſevere puniſhment: But Sir *Francis Winde-* Secretary of State, fearing to be called to Account the Parliament for reprieving *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts*, hich he knew would be produced againſt him, if not orſe matters, fled privately into *France*, *December* 7th. e *Commons* voted *Ship money*, with the Opinion of the dges thereupon to be Illegal; and a Charge of *High-* *aſon* was ordered to be drawn up againſt eight of them; d they reſolved to begin with the Lord Keeper *Finch*, *ecember* 11th. Alderman *Pennington* and ſome hundred Citizens preſented a Petition, ſubſcribed by 15000 ands againſt Church Diſcipline & Ceremonies, and a hile after the Houſe of Commons Voted, *That the Clergy a Synod or Convocation have no power to make Canons or aws without Parliaments; and that the Canons are againſt the undamental Laws of this Realm, the Kings Prerogative, the roperty of the Subject, the Right of Parliaments, and tend to Faction and Sedition.*

In purſuance hereof a Charge was ordered to be- rawn up againſt Arch-biſhop *Laud* as principal fra- er of thoſe Canons, and other Delinquencies; which mpeachment was ſeconded by another from the *Scotch* Commiſſioners; upon which he was committed to the Black Rod, and ten weeks after Voted Guilty of High- Treaſon, and ſent to the *Tower*, the *Scots* likewiſe preſer charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* then in Cuſtody, re-

requiring Juſtice againſt them both, as the great I... whic... diaries, and Diſturbers of Church and State, a... Inſtru... *George Ratcliff*, the Earls Boſom Friend, had A... wer, t... drawn againſt him to this purpoſe.

That he had conſpired with the Earl to bring Ireland ...m the *an* Arbitrary *Government*; *and to ſubvert the Funda...*, to *Laws, and to bring an Army from* Ireland *to ſubdue th...* Papiſt *jects of* England. *That he perſuaded the Earl to uſe ...* that h... *Power, and to deprive the Subjects of their Liberti...* or the *Properties. That he countenanced Papiſts, and built ...* to pre... *ſteries, to alienate the Affections of the* Iriſh *from ...*ch wa... land, *That he withdrew the Subjects of* Scotland *from ...*ad pr... *King.* And laſtly, *That to preſerve himſelf and the E...* it the p... Strafford: *He laboured to ſubvert the Liberties and Privi...* The S... *of* Parliament *in* Ireland.

The Lord Keeper *Finch*, was the next perſon ...ths, ...Rippon ſigned to be cenſured, and notwithſtanding a Sp..., wh... made in his own Vindication, he was Voted a Tr... Der... upon ſeveral Accounts; and among the reſt, *for ſolic...* to. A... *perſuading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their ...* their ...*ons for raiſing Ship-money, and for ſeveral ill Offices do...*d, ... *moving the King to diſſolve the laſt* Parliament, *and cauſing* ſides *publiſhing the Kings Declaration thereupon.* Next day he ...d for... accuſed before the Lords, but he foreſaw the Sto... gliſh... and went over into *Holland*. give...

The Parliament having now removed their Ene... ir Ch... and increaſing in Reputation, were deſigning a Bill ... the ... a *Triennial Parliament*; for promoting which, Peti... as ſo... came from divers places, one whereof was ſubſcri... ys w... with 800 Hands directly againſt *Epiſcopacy*, which ... r th... King took notice of, and calling both Houſes toge... ent ... tells them, *Of their ſlowneſs, and the charge of two Ar...* At ... *in the Kingdom, and that he would have them avoid* ...oung *Rocks, the one about the Hierarchy of Biſhops, which he* ... r to ... *willing to reform, but not to alter: The other concerning f...* uni... *quent* Parliaments, *which he liked well, but not to give* ...im... *Power to* Sheriffs *and* Conſtables, ...be...

About this time one *Goodman* a *Popiſh* Prieſt, conde... kew... ned at the Seſſions in *London*, was reprieved by the Ki... ngl... ...up...

which both Houſes petitioned to know who were Inſtruments of it; and receiving an unſatisfactory Anſwer, they Remonſtraited againſt the Toleration of *Iriſh*, and the *Popes* Nuncio *Roſetti*, and this *Goodman*, whom they deſired might be left to the Juſtice of the Land, to this the King anſwers, *That the Increaſe of Popery and Papiſts in his Dominions, is extreamly againſt his mind, that he would uſe all poſſible means for the reſtraining of it: for the Popes* Nuncio Roſetti, *he had no Commiſſion, but to preſerve Correſpondence between the Queen and the Pope, which was allowed her by the Articles of Marriage, however had prevailed with her to remove him, and is contented to admit the particular Caſe of* Goodman *to both Houſes.*

The *Scots* had been now quartered in *England* five months, during which a Ceſſation had been concluded at *Rippon*, but the full Pacification was reſerved for *London*, where Commiſſioners ſate on both Parties to hear the Demands of the *Scots*, and to make anſwer thereto. After which the *Scots* preſented the great Account of their Charges, which was Five hundred fourteen thouſand, one hundred twenty eight pounds nine Shillings, beſides the loſs of their Nation, which was Four hundred and forty thouſand pounds. This Reckoning ſtartled the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, till the *Scots* told them. *They did not give in that Account as expecting a Total Reparation of their Charges & Loſſes but were content to bear a part of it, hoping for the reſt, from the Juſtice and Kindneſs of* England. There was ſome oppoſition made to the Demands, however Moneys were raiſed for the preſent from the City of *London* for the ſupply of both the *Northern* Armies as the Parliament had done once before.

At this time a Match was propounded between the young Prince of *Orange*, and the Lady *Mary* Eldeſt Daughter to the King, which his Majeſty liked well of, and communicated it to the Parliament, with whom it found an unanimous and general Reception, in regard of the Alliance to be thereupon concluded with the *States General*; and likewiſe that he was of the ſame *Proteſtant Religion* with *England*, ſo that the Marriage was ſoon concluded.

Preſently

Presently after four Members of the Commons vered a Message to the Lords of a *Popish Design*, c vying an Army of Fifteen thousand in *Lancashire* Eight thousand in *Ireland*, and that the main pro thereof were the Earls of *Strafford* and *Worcester*.

In *February* Sir *Robert Berkly*, one of the Judges *Ship-money*, was accused of High Treason, and co ted Prisoner to the Black Rod. In this Month the passed that Act for a *Trennial Parliament*, and to let them know what value he put upon this great fa his Majesty told the two Houses, *That hitherto the gone on in those things which concerned themselves, and he expected they should proceed upon what concerned him.*

The King then likewise signed the Bill of *Sub* which gave them such universal content, that Sir *ward Littleton* Lord Keeper, was ordered *To retur Humble thanks of both Houses to his Majesty at Whi* Upon which there were Bonefires and Bells ringi and about *London*, in the same manner as formerly on granting the *Petition of Right*.

March 1. 1643. Archbishop *Laud* upon an Accu of High Treason by the *Commons*, was committed to *Tower*: And now *Episcopacy* it self was called in que and though the Lord *Digby* made a witty and we Speech in defence of it, and Arch-Bishop *Usher* gave Judgment for the Moderation and Emendation of it the Liturgy, not the Extirpation thereof, yet the W of Episcopacy were shrewdly clipt, for *March* 10. Commons Voted, *That no Bishop should have any Vo Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the* Star-Chan *nor be concerned in any Temporal matters; and that no C man should be a Justice of Peace.*

Upon *Monday March* 25. 1640. the Earl of *Straf* Tryal began in *Westminster-Hall*, the King, Queen Prince being present; and the *Commons* likewise b there as a Committee at the managing their Accusati the Earl of *Arundel* was Lord High Steward, and Earl of *Lindsey* Lord High Constable, the Earl of S *ford*, though he had but short warning, yet had gotten

Defe

ence ready againſt the time. The Accuſation was naged by Mr. *Pym*, conſiſting of Twenty eight Arti-, to moſt of which the Earl made particular Replies. But the *Commoons* were reſolved to proſecute him to utmoſt, and had therefore procured the Parliament *reland* to proſecute him there alſo, as guilty of High eaſon; which being unexpectedly produced, extor- from the Earl this paſſionate Expreſſion, *That there s a Conſpiracy againſt him to take away his Life.* At ich the *Commons* cryed out againſt him, *That ſtanding eached of High Treaſon, he durſt accuſe the Parliament of o Kingdoms of Conſpiracy againſt him.* But beſides all eſe, certain notes were produced againſt him, which re taken by Sir *H. Vane* in a cloſe Committee of ſelect ounſellors, whom the King had choſen to conſult about s ſecond Expedition againſt the *Scots*; out of which it as alledged againſt the Earl, *That he had given the King dvice to borrow an Hundred Thouſand Pound of the ity of ondon, To levy Shipmony rigorouſly; and that his Majeſty aving tryed the Affections of his People, was abſolved and oſed from all Rules of Government, and might do what power would admit; and having an Army in* Ireland, *might imploy for the reducing of this Kingdom, which he was ſure could not old out five months: And* London *being full of the Nobility,* he Commiſſion of Array *was to be ſet on foot, and all Oppo- ers thereof to be ſeverely dealt with.*

To this the Earl replyed, 'That he conceived it lawful 'for a Privy Councellor to have freedom of Voting with 'others; and as to the matters of the *Engliſh* Army, he 'thought that the ſingle Teſtimony of one man, (Secre- 'tary *Vane*) was not of Validity in Law, much leſs in Life 'and Death, and that the Depoſitions of Secretary *Vane* 'were doubtful, as appeared by ſeveral Examinations, 'and that there were preſent at the debate but eight Privy 'Councellors, whereof two were not to be produced, & '4 others declared upon their Honours that they never 'heard him ſpeak thoſe words, or any like them; and 'laſtly, That if he had ſpoken them (which he yet gran- 'ted not) that the word *This Kingdom*, could not imply

England,

'*England*, the debate being concerning *Scotland*, t
'being not the leaſt intention of Landing the *Iriſh* A
'in *England*; and concluded his Defence with telling
'Lords, that he was accuſed, as guilty of Treaſon fo
'deavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of
'Land, but it ſeemed ſtrange to him that it ſhould
'Treaſon together which was not Treaſon in
'part; and laſtly deſired the Lords to conſider
'their own Priviledges, and other Miniſters of S
'would ſuffer by his Condemnation.

The *Commons* muſt now juſtifie their Charge by L to which end they produced the *Salvo* annexed to Stat. of 25 *Ed.* 3. The words were theſe, *Becauſe all ticular Treaſons could not be then defined; therefore the Parliament ſhould declare to be Treaſon, in time to (ſhould be puniſhed as Treaſon*; And ſo this *Salvo* was to the Ground-work of the *Bill of Attainder*. This bein point of Law, the Earl had Council allowed him, w anſwered on his behalf, *That the Statute which they was but a Declaration and a Penal Law, and would no admit of ſuch Conſequential and Inferential Conſtructions, that this* Salvo *was repealed by an Act of Parliament in Sixth of* Henry *the fourth*. And ſo the Court Adjourn without prefixing any time of Meeting; for the Co mons proceeded to diſpatch their *Bill of Attainder*, and pril 19. 1641. they Voted the Earl Guilty of High Tre ſon upon the Evidence of Secretary *Vane* and his Note And upon the 25th. they paſſed the *Bill* & ſent it to t Lords for their Concurrence, to whom it ſeemed at fi ſo perplex a buſineſs, that the Commons were forced ſend Mr. *Sain-John* the Kings Sollicitor, to confer wi them about it, who gave them ſuch ſatisfaction, th thence forward they ſhewed greater propenſity to t Earls condemnation.

In the mean time the Commons petitioned the Kin 1. *To remove all Papiſts from Court.* 2. *For diſarming them generally throughout the Kingdom.* 3. *For disbandi the* Iriſh *Army.* To which the King anſwered, 1. *They knew what Legal Truſt the Crown hath in that particula*

efore he ſhall not need to ſay any thing to aſſure them that he uſe it ſo, as there ſhall be no juſt cauſe of ſcandal. 2. As he ſecond he is content it ſhall be done by Law. And for the he had entred into Conſultation about it, finding many difficul- therein, & doth ſo wiſh the disbanding of all Armies, as he did ure them ſpeedily and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding e two here, Scots *and* Engliſh.

The House of Commons having finiſhed their *Bill of At-der* againſt the E. of *Strafford*, and the King fearing the nclusion, and being willing to do ſome good Office to n, His Majeſty *May* 1. 1641. calls both Houſes together, in a Speech tells them, *That he had been preſent at the ring of that great Cauſe, and that in his Conſcience, poſitively, could not condemn him of High Treaſon, and yet could not r him of miſdemeanours; but hoped a way might be found to ſatisfie Juſtice and their fears, without oppreſſing his nſcience.* And ſo he diſmiſſed them to their great diſ-ntent, which was propagated ſo far, that *May* 3. near a ouſand Citizens, moſt of them armed with Swords dgels, and Staves, came thronging down to *Weſtminſter*, ying out for *Juſtice againſt the Earl of* Strafford; eſpe-lly applying themſelves to the Earl of *Montgomery*, rd Chamberlain, by whoſe perſwaſions and promiſes eir fury was partly abated: However they poſted up the Gate at *Weſtminſter* a liſt of the Names of thoſe ho would have acquitted the Earl; whom they ſtiled *raffordians*.

The Parliament being Informed that ſome endea-urs were uſed to raiſe a Diſguſt in the *Engliſh* Nor-ern Army againſt their Proceedings, they now enter to a National Proteſtation to maintain with Life, ower, and Eſtate, the True Reformed *Proteſtant* Reli-ion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of *Eng-nd*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations: Which as ordered to be printed and publiſhed through the ingdom.

May 5. The Lords acquainted the Commons, *That they ought it the ſafeſt courſe to lay by the* Bill of Attainder, *be-uſe it brought in the King for Judge*, And the next day they deb ated

debated the ſeveral Articles of his Impeachment, voted the Earl guilty of High Treaſon upon Two of that is, the 15th. *For Levying of moneys in* Ireland *in a warlike manner*; and the 16th, *For Impoſing Oa on the Subjects of* Ireland.

The Commons had now finiſhed a Bill, *For the C uance of the Parliament*; which having paſſed the L was tendred to the King to be ſigned; together wit *Bill of Attainder*. His Majeſty anſwered, that on Mo following he would ſatisfie them; and on the Su before, the King ſpent the whole day in conſulti bout the Earl of *Strafford* with the Judges and Biſh The Judges told him, *That in point of Law*, (*according Oath made by Sir* H. Vane *of the Earls advice, to raiſe to awe this Nation*) *he was guilty of Treaſon*. In the e ing the Five Biſhops, *viz.* of *Armagh*, *London*, *Du Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, were called in to the King to ſa his Conſcience about it, who all agreed, *That the might ſhew mercy without any ſcruple, and that he could no demn the Earl, if he did not think him Guilty*: This w matter of Fact, but as to matter of Law, *he was to r the Opinion of the Judges*.

Monday *May* 10. The King gives Commiſſion veral Lords to paſs two Bills, one the *Bill of A* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*: The other, *For contin the Parliament, during the pleaſure of both Houſes*; Which Act was occaſioned for ſatisfying the *Scots*, who req vaſt Sums of Money; and for disbanding both the mies: whereby great Taxes were laid upon the Peop Act of Parliament, which could not poſſibly be levi a ſhort time, and therefore there needed a preſent ply from the City of *London*, who (as it was alledg would not part with their money, leſt a Diſſolu of the Parliament ſhould happen before payme upon which Account the King was preſſed to paſs Act.

The ſame Day the Bill was paſſed againſt the Ea *Strafford*, the King ſent Sir *Dudley Carlton*, Secreta State, to acquaint the Earl with what was done, an

Mo

tives thereto, whereat the E. was greatly astonisht; but next day the King being troubled, writes a Letter with own hand to the House of Lords; and sent it by Prince of *Wales*, telling them, *That whereas Justice had n satisfied in his Condemnation, an intermixture of mercy uld not now be unseasonable; and therefore he desired them, t if it might be done without any discontent to the People, the rl might be permitted to fulfil the Natural Course of his Life loſe Imprisonment sequestr'd from all publick Affairs provided never attempted to make an Escape; however he thought it a rk of Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.* But nothing uld be obtained in favour of him, but that the Lords said, eir Intention was to be suitors to his *Majesty to shew favour his Innocent Children, and that whatever provision himself had de for them, it might be confirmed.*

Some designs were to have been laid for his Escape, wever *May* 12. 1641. the Earl of *Strafford* was convey- from the Tower by a Guard consisting of the Train- Bands, Marshals men, Sheriffs, Officers, and Wardens the Tower. Before him went his Gentleman-Usher re-headed, and he himself followed, accompanied ith the Archbishop of *Armagh* and others. As he went ong he passed by Archbishop *Lauds* Lodging, and spy- him at the Window he called to him for his Prayers d his Blessing; but the Bishop at the sight of him was surpriz'd, that for some time he could not recollect mself, and being reprehended by his Friends of an un- cent Pusillanimity, he replyed; *That he doubted not but hen that bitter Cup should come to his turn, he should tast it ith a most Christian Courage.*

The Earl being come to the Scaffold upon *Tower hill*, ddrest himself to the Arch-bishop of *Armagh* to this Ef- ct, *That he was come to pay the last Debt he owed to Sin, with good hope of rising again to Righteousness: That he dyed will- ngly, forgave all, and submitted to Justice, He professeth him- lf guiltless as to the matter for which he dyed; He wished a rosperity to the King and People; and acquitted him from the ilt of his death, as having acted therein no otherwise than as onstrained: He advised his Adversaries to repent of their Vio-*

lent Proceedings againſt him; and telling them that he thou
it a ſtrange way to write in Blood the begi ning of Reforma
and Settlement of the Kingdom. However he wiſhed that
Blood might reſt, and not cry againſt them. He declared,
died in the Faith of the Church of England *for whoſe happ*
he prayed and concluded his Speech with intreating the Spe
tors to pray for him. After which he kneeled down
Prayer, and riſing up again took his laſt leave of his E
ther Sir *George Wentworth* and all his Friends, ſending
Love to his Wife, and his Bleſſing to his Children; w
a moſt ſtrict Injunction to his Onely Son, *Never to me*
with the Patrimony of the Church: And then giving
ſign to the Executioner, his head was ſevered from
body at the firſt ſtroke.

This was the end of that Great and Able Miniſter
State, who is reported when he heard the King had co
ſented to the *Bill of Attainder* to have lifted up his eye
Heaven, and clapping his hand upon his heart, to have c
ed out (perhaps in imitation of Cardinal *Wooſeys* Co
plaint) *Put not your Truſt in Princes, nor in the Sons of M*
for in them is no Salvation. And indeed it ſeemed ve
hard that he ſhould be made guilty of High Treaſon b
a Bill framed on purpoſe, without former Preſiden
and to which his Majeſties Conſent was in a manner c
torted, and which he afterward bewailed with great
morſe of Conſcience, though it is ſaid the King was n
ſo much convinced by any thing ſaid to him, but t
chief Motive was a Letter from the Earl, wherein h
thus concluded.

Sir, (*To ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience at Liberty*) *I do m*
humbly beſeech you, for the Preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as m
happen by your refuſal to paſs the Bill, by this means to reve
praiſed be God (*I cannot ſay this accurſed, but*) *this Unfortu*
nate Thing, *forth of the way, towards that bleſſed Agreeme*
which God I truſt ſhall for ever eſtabliſh between You and Yo
Subjects. My conſent herein ſhall more acquit you to God, th
all the world can do beſide: To a willing man there is no injur
done.

His Character is expreſſed by the King his Maſter,

Eikon Baſilike, who ſaid, *He looked upon the Earl of* afford *as a Gentleman, whoſe great Abilities might make a* ince rather afraid than aſhamed to Imploy *him in the greateſt* airs of State.

The fall of this powerful man ſo ſtartled other great ficers of State, that ſeveral reſigned their places: A- ut the ſame time ſome diſcontents aroſe between the rliament and the Engliſh Army in the *North*, but a ile after both Armies were disbanded. The payment *Tunage* and *Poundage* had been much queſtioned ſince 28. but now the King at the requeſt of the Commons s content to relinquiſh his Claim to it, and afterward ſſed *a Bill for Pole-money, and two others for putting down Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion Courts*; which had oceeded with too much ſeverity, having ſo far out grown e power of the Law, that they would not be limited nor ided by it.

July 5. A Charge was brought into the Houſe of Com- ons againſt Dr. *Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, being accuſed of me Treaſonable Miſdemeanors in his Dioceſs; who ereupon Voted him unworthy and unfit to hold or ercise any Office of Dignity in Church or State, and fired the Lords to join with them, to requeſt the King r his removal from his ſervice; and ſo he was commit- d to the *Tower*, and about the ſame time the Writs for ip-*money*, and all the Proceedings therein were by the ings conſent judged void; and 5 of the Judges that ve their Opinions for it, were Impeached of high miſ- emeanor; that is *Bramſton, Trevor, Weſton, Davenport*, and awley; and *Berkly* another of the Judges was accuſed r Treaſon, but no further proſecution was made there-

Auguſt 6. Both the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Armies were isbanded, and four dayes after the King went toward otland and was entertained with great demonſtrations Affection by that Nation, and conferred ſeveral places Honour and Power upon divers of them; confirming kewiſe the Treaty between the two Nations by Act of liament.

October 23. 1641. A horrid and Notorious Rebe
broke out in *Ireland*, which was managed with ſuch
creſie, that it was not diſcovered till the night befo
was to have been put in execution; which was in
vers places carried on with ſuch fury, that Two Hun
Thouſand *Engliſh* Men, Women, and Children, wer
a ſhort ſpace barbarouſly murdered by all manner
moſt cruel Torments that their Deviliſh minds could
vent. And this was chiefly occaſioned by the Inſt
tion of the *Iriſh Popiſh Prieſts*, Monks and Fryers,
every where declaimed loudly againſt the *Proteſta*
ſaying, *That they were Hereticks, and not to be ſufferid*
longer to live amongſt them, That it was no more ſin to kill
of them than to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and
pardonable ſin to relieve or protect any of them. Yea the Pri
gave the Sacrament to divers of the *Iriſh*, upon cond
on they ſhould ſpare neither Man, Woman, nor C
of the Proteſtants, ſaying, *That it did them a great dut*
good to waſh their hands in their Blood: and that they
worſe than Dogs; and if any of them died in the Quarr
fore their bodies were cold, their Souls ſhould be in Heaven w
out ever calling in at Purgatory *by the way.*

This bloody Rebellion happened in a time wher
the *Iriſh* had all the Priviledges and Liberty they co
reaſonably expect, and the ancient hatred which
Iriſh had born to the *Engliſh*, did now ſeem to be forg
ten, Forty years of Peace having compacted and cem
ted them together, both by Alliances and Marriages, whi
were all now miſerably broken and de[illegible]oyed. T
Caſtle of *Dublin*, wherein were Ten [illegible] Arms a
all other Forts and Magazines in the [illegible], were
have been ſurprized, and all the *Engli[illegible]teſtants* t
would not join with them, were to be [illegible]ſhered; b
the ſeizing of the Caſtle was happily prev[illegible]ced by o
Owen Conally, from ſome diſcourſe accidentally i
Tavern with one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to t
Great Earl of *Tyrone* the night before the intended Ex
cution.

Upon this Diſcovery *Mac Mahon* and Lord *Mac G*
we

ere ſeized by the Lords Chief Juſtices of *Ireland*, and
any Principal Conſpirators eſcaped that night out of
ublin; ſo was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be
t in one day. But the horrid Deſign was paſt preven-
on as to the general, for the Conſpirators were in Arms
the day appointed in all the Counties round about, and
or *Engliſh* Proteſtants daily arrived there, robbed and
piled of all they had; giving lamentable Relations how
eir Houſes were ſeized, the Towns and Villages fired,
d in all parts all manner of cruel Outrages and Vil-
ies committed. The Lords Juſtices Sir *William*
rſons and Sir *John Burlace* taking thoſe Arms which
ey found in *Dublin*, and Arming whom they could to
fend themſelves, ſent Sir *Henry Spotſwood* to the King
en in *Scotland*, with an account of all that happened,
no diſpatched Sir *James Stuart* with Inſtructions to
e Lords of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, and to carry
the Money his preſent Stores would ſupply. He like-
iſe moved the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being neareſt)
r their Aſſiſtance, but they excuſed it, becauſe *Ireland*
as a dependent upon the Crown of *England*; but if the
ate of *England* would uſe any of their men for that
rvice, they would make Propoſitions in order to it.
t the ſame time likewiſe, the King ſent Poſt to the
rliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally*
e firſt Diſcoverer of the Plot, came to *London* and
ought Letters to the Earl of *Leiceſter* (who was choſen
eputy, but not yet gone over) wherein the Lords
ſtices deſired ſome Reward might be given him;
on which the Parliament Voted him a Gift of 500 *l.*
d an Annuity of 300 *l.* a year, and at a Conference of
th Houſes they paſſed ſeveral Votes for the Relief of
land, yet little was done till the Kings return from
otland, which was about the end of *November*.

The *Iriſh*, to diſhearten the *Engliſh* from any reſiſtance,
agged, *That the Queen was with their Army, That the*
ing would come amongſt them a ſo, and aſſiſt them; *That*
n did but maintain his Cauſe againſt the Puritans: *That*
y had the Kings Commiſſion for what they did (ſhewing

indeed a Patent themſelves had drawn, but thereto affixed an Old Broad Seal which had been taken fr an Antient Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one Pl in the preſence of many of their Lords and Prieſts, was afterwards atteſted by the Confeſſion of ſeveral *That the Scots were in the Confederacy with them*; And ſeem to confirm this laſt, they abſtained for ſome ti from deſtroying the Eſtates, or murdering any of t Nation: And on the other ſide, to encourage the *Ir* they produced pretended Letters; wherein they ſ they were informed from *England*, *That the* Parlia *had paſſed an Act, all the* Iriſh *ſhould be compelled to the* P *teſtant Worſhip*, and for the firſt offence in refuſing, forfeit all their Goods, for the ſecond their Eſtates, a for the third their Lives; and beſides this they preſe ed them with the hopes of Liberty, *That the* Engl *Yoke ſhould be ſtricken off*; *That they ſhould have a King their own Nation, and that then all the Goods and Eſtates the* Engliſh *ſhould be divided amongſt them.*

With theſe Motives of Spoil and Liberty, whi were ſtrengthned by the former of Religion, the R bellion increaſed: The Rebels in *Ulſter* commanded, Sir *Phelim O Neal* aſſiſted by his Brother, the Brother the L[illegible] *Mac Guire*, *Philip O Reley*, and ſeveral others h poſſeſſed moſt of the ſtrong places in that Provinc and many other, which they could not take by force n treachery, were delivered to them by the *Engliſh* up Articles, which they afterwards like true (or rather falſe Papiſts, moſt perfidiouſly broke; Butchering and Maſſ cring the poor *Engliſh* without pity or compaſſion to Ag or Sex; though they ſtill ſpared the *Scotch* Plantatio in *Ulſter*, becauſe of their Numbers, and likewiſe for fe of the *Scotch* Army, ſo eaſily to be tranſported to th North parts of *Ireland*: But now their General Sir Ph *lin O Neal* (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl *Tyrone*, a pretended *Proteſtant* till ſome time before (h ing got together a vaſt number of the Natives, fell u on them and deſtroyed their Houſes and Goods; a though they did not exerciſe that Cruelty on th Bodi

Bodies, yet they ſtript them and drove them Naked to the *Scotiſh* Shore; from thence he marched into other parts, and took *Dundalk*, incamping at *Arde* near *Tredagh*.

The King finding his ſtay to be longer than he thought, left the whole buſineſs of *Ireland* to the Parliament, who declared a ſpeedy and vigorous Aſſiſtance, and Voted Fifty thouſand Pound for a preſent Supply. By which time the Lords of the Council of *Ireland* had armed as many as were able, and given Commiſſions for raiſing ſeveral Regiments, of whom the Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant General, and a Regiment was ſent from *England* under Sir *Simon Harcourt*; about which time the King returned out of *Scotland*, and was Entertained and Feaſted at *London*, and from thence Conducted to *White-Hall*: after which the King Treated ſeveral Chief Citizens at *Hampton Court*, where divers of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood.

December 2. The King ſummons both Houſes together, and tells them, *That he had ſtaid in* Scotland *longer than he expected, yet not fruitleſly, for he had given full ſatisfaction to that Nation; but cannot chuſe but take notice of and wonder at, the unexpected Diſtractions he finds at home*; and then commends to them the State of *Ireland*: next he publiſhes a Proclamation *for Obedience to the Laws in force concerning Religion, and the performance of Divine Service without Innovation or Aboliſhing of Rites and* Ceremonies. *January* 20. His Majeſty makes another Speech to them, and Conjures them by all that is dear to him or them, to haſten the buſineſs of *Ireland*. After which the Commons ordered a Select Committee to draw up a Petition, and Remonſtrance to the King; the Petition was thus:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign your Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, do with joy acknowledge the Favour of God in your ſafe return into England, *where the dangers and diſtempers of the State have cauſed them to deſire your Preſence and Authority to your Parliament, for preventing of imminent Ruin and Deſtruction to your Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *fo-*

mented by a malignant party, for alteration of Religion & Government, the increase of Popery by the Practices of Jesuits *and other Engineers and Factors of* Rome, *corrupting the Bishops and Privy Council; they being the cause of the* Scottish War *and the* Irish *Rebellion: Now for prevention we pray, That your Majesty would concur with your Parliament to deprive the Bishops of their Votes, To take way Oppressions in Religion, Church-Government, and Discipline, To purge your Councils of such as are Promoters of these Corruptions, and to alienate any Escheated Land in* Ireland, *by reason of the Rebellion; and these being granted, we will make you happy.*

This was followed by a large Remonstrance containing all the Miscarriages and Misfortunes (which they term Pressures) since the beginning of his Majesties Reign. As 1, 'The root and ground of these dangers. 2. The 'Maturity and Ripeness. 3. The effectual means used 'for their Extirpation and the progress therein made. '4. The Obstructions and Oppositions interrupting. 'The best means for removing these Obstacles, and for 'accomplishing the Parliaments good Intentions, for 'restoring this Nation to its Ancient Renown. The 'Actors and Promoters of these Evils, were described to be, 1. The *Jesuited* Papists. 2. The Bishops, and corrupted Clergy. 3. Interested Councellors, and Courtiers. The root of the mischief was, the Malignant 'Party, whose Practices were branched into four particulars: 1. To foment differences and discontents be- 'tween the King and People about *Prerogative* and *Privilege*, for their own Advantages. 2. To suppress 'the purity and power of Religion. 3. To Unite and 'Conjoyn *Papists*, *Arminians*, and *Libertines*, and out of 'them all to compose a Body sufficient to carry on their 'Designs. And 4. To disaffect the King to the Parliament 'by Slanders & by putting him upon other ways of Supply 'than by Parliament; & that the intentions of these Malig- 'nants were to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Princi- 'ples of Government: They then charge this Malignant 'Party more particularly; as chiefly occasioning the Disso- 'lution of three several Parliaments without Relief of 'Gri-

Grievances. The [illegible] bers. raising [illegible] and Excise, [illegible] the Petition of Right, The successless Attempts upon *France* and *Spain*, and Peace made with the *Spaniards* without consent of Parliament: The loss of *Rochel* occasioned by lending part of our Fleet to the *French* King, deserting the cause of the *Palatinate*, charging the Kingdom with Billetting Souldiers, and the Design of bringing in *German* Horse to inslave this Nation to Arbitrary Contributions: Lastly, they reflect upon Scandalous Declarations published against the Parliament, upon Injustice, Oppression, Violence, Illegal Inlargements of Forrests, Coat, and Conduct Money, Corrupt Councils and Designs, Projects, Monopolies, Illegal Proceedings in Courts of Judicature, and Council Table; charging the Bishops likewise with many Enormities, particularly for contributing to raise an Army for constraining the *Scots* to conform to their Superstitious Ceremonies; concluding with what they have done for the Reformation of these Abuses.

To their Petition the King returned this Answer, *That he knows not any Wicked or Malignant Persons whom he doth either countenance or imploy; That he would concur with his People in a Parliamentary way against all* Popish *Designs, but would not consent to deprive the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament: That he judged the power of the Clergy sufficiently moderated by taking away the High Commission Court, and needing no further Abridgment; That he was willing to concur with them for removal of any Innovations in Religion by a National Synod; That he had no Councellors nor Ministers of State whom he would not at anytime expose to Trial, and leave to the Law, but cannot agree that any others should have the choice of them but himself; That he concurs with them for not altering the Forfeited Lands in* Ireland, *but thinks it not reasonable to resolve before the Event of War be seen; and doubts not of their Loyal Endeavours for the support of his Royal State.*

In Answer to the Remonstrance, the King issues out a Declaration to his Subjects, the Sum of which was, *That he thought he had given sufficient satisfaction to his Peoples Fears*

and Jealousies, concerning Religion, Liberty, and Civil Interest by the Bills which he hath passed this Parliament; desiring that misunderstandings might be removed on either side, and that the bleeding Condition of Ireland *might perswade them to Unity for the Relief of that unhappy Kingdom.*

Not long after happened the Insolent Tumults of the *Lon.* Apprentices, who in a riotous manner went to *Whit Hall* and *Westminster*, to the great disturbance of the King who thereupon commanded the Lord Mayor and Common Council to keep a double Watch and Guard, for preventing mischief; and *Dec.* 28. The King sends a Message to the Lords, *That he would raise ten thousand Volunteers for Ireland, if the Commons would undertake to pay them:* On New-years-day a Proclamation was published against the *Irish*, declaring *those that were in Arms, with all their Adherents and Abbettors, to be Rebels and Traytors:* Two days after, the King upon Information that the L. *Kimbolton* and Five of the House of Commons, *viz.* Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden* and Mr. *Stroud*, had Correspondence with the *Scots*, and countenanced the late City Tumults. He thereupon ordered their Trunks, Studies and Chambers to be Sealed up, and their Persons seized; the former of which was done, but having timely notice they went aside; upon which the Commons voted the same day, *That if any persons shall attempt to Seize the* Persons *or* Papers *of any* Parliament *Man, such Members shall require the Aid of the Constable to secure such Persons till further Order of the House; and that it is lawful for any person to Assist the said Members, and that the said Members may stand upon their Guard, and make resistance according to the Protestation for defence of the* Priviledges *of* Parliament.

Hereupon the King charges the L. *Kimbolton* and the 5 Members with several Articles, and Acquaints both Houses, *That he did intend to prosecute them for High Treason, and required that their Persons might be secured:* And the next day the King Attended with his Guard of Pensioners, and some Hundreds of Gentlemen, went to the House of Commons, and the Guard staying without, the King with the *Palsgrave* entred the House, at whose

ance the Speaker [illegible] and [illegible] King
ting down therein, Views the Houses round, and per-
ceives the Birds he aimed at were flown, for having warn-
ing they had withdrawn into *London*; whereupon he
tells them, *That he came to look for those 5 Members whom he
had accused of High Treason, and was resolved to have them
wherever he found them; and expected to have them sent to him
as soon as they should come to the House; but would not have
them thin that this Act of his was any Violation of Parliament.*
This Act of the King was so highly resented by the house,
that the next day *January* 5. the Commons Voted it a
Breach of Priviledge, and Scandals were raised in the
City, that he intended Violence against the House of
Commons, and came thither with force to Murther seve-
ral Members, and used threatning Speeches against the
Parliament; with which the City was so possessed, that
unusual Guards and Watches were set, as if some despe-
rate Assault were to be made upon the City, and the
Houses adjourned till the Tuesday following appointing
a Commitee in the mean time to sit at *Guild hall* to con-
sider of the most Effectual Means for their Security. And
then they publish a Declaration, *That whosoever shall Arrest
any Member of Parliament by Warrant from the King only, is
Guilty of the Breach of Priviledges of Parliament; and like-
wise that all those who attended the King when he came to de-
mand the 5 Members were Guilty of a Traiterous Design against
the King and Parliament, That the Proclamation for Apprepend-
ing and Imprisoning the said Members, was False, Scandalous,
and Illegal, and not of Validity enough to hinder them from at-
tending the House; and that the publishing of the several Arti-
cles of High Treason was a Breach of Priviledge; wherefore
they intreat his Majesty, to discover the Names of those Informers
and Evil Counsellors, declaring all such Persons to be publick Ene-
mies to the State.*

In the mean time the *Londoners* came thronging to *West-
minster* with Petitions, inveighing bitterly against some
of the Peers, but especially the Bishops, whom they af-
fronted as they went to the House; upon which they
were so affrighted, that Twelve Bishops absent themselves
from

from the House of Lords, drawing up a Protestation against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions, and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which had passed, or should pass, during their forced Absence; desiring their Protestation might be entred by the Clerk of the House of Peers. Presently after which at a Conference between both Houses, it was agreed, *That the Protestation of the Twelve Bishops did extend to the deep trenching upon the fundamental Priviledges, and Being of Parliaments*; and in a short time they were accused of High Treason, seized and brought on their knees at the Lords Bar: Ten of them were committed to the *Tower*, and the other two, in regard of their Age, to the Black Rod.

The King at this time, thinking himself unsafe without a Guard, accepted of the offer to some Gentlemen of the *Inn of Court* to be a Guard to him, which instead of security, was by subtil men made more prejudicial to the King, by taking this occasion, to raise the rage and jealousie of the City against him; for at midnight there were cryes made in the Streets of *London*, *That all Papists should rise to their Defence, for the King, with his Papists, were coming to fire the City, and cut their Throats in their Beds*; this which, though nothing were more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by such Allarms, being terrified from sleep, the Impressions of those night fears lying upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness; of which the King complained to the Common Council of *London*.

But the House of Commons, to obviate this, upon suspicion of some design upon their persons, petition the King for a Guard, to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, of whose fidelity to the King and State, no question was ever made. This Petition was denied by the King, as not willing to have them too strong, yet promised to take such care for their security from Violence, as he would for the preservation of Himself and Children: and if this general Assurance would not suffice to remove those Apprehensions, he would command such a Guard

to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

This Answer being unsatisfactory, the City joyn with them, and in their Common Council drew up a *Petition*, complaining, *That the Trade of the City was decayed, to the utter Ruin of the* Protestant Religion, *and the Lives and Liberties of the Subjects, by the Design of* Papists, Foreigners and Domesticks (*more particularly their fomenting the Irish Rebellion*) *by changing the Constable of the Tower, and making preparation there, by the fortifying of* Whitehall, *and His Majesties late Invasion of the House of Commons.* Whereupon they pray, *That by the Parliaments Advice the Protestants in* Ireland *may be relieved, The Tower to be put into the hands of Persons of Trust, a Guard appointed for the safety of the Parliament; and that the Five Members may not be restrained nor proceeded against but by the Priviledges of Parliament.* And besides this, the King riding into *London*, the Citizens in multitudes flocked about his Coach, beseeching him, *To agree with his* Parliament, *and not to violate their Priviledges.*

To their Petition the King returned Answer, *That he could not express a greater sense of* Ireland *than he had done; That meerly to satisfie the City, he had removed a worthy* Person *from the charge of the* Tower; *and that the Tumults had caused him to fortifie* White-Hall, *for the security of his own Person. That his going to the House of Commons was to apprehend those five Members for Treason, to which the Priviledges of Parliament could not extend; and that yet he would proceed against them no otherwise than legally.*

And now such numbers of ordinary People daily gathered about *Westminster* and *Whitehall*, that the King doubting of their Intentions thought fit to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*, taking with him the Queen, Prince, and Duke of *York*; where he and his Retinue and Guard quickly increased, by accession of divers of the Gentry. But the next day the five Members were triumphantly guarded to *Westminster* by a great number of Citizens and Sea-men, with hundreds of Boats and Barges, with Guns in them, shouting and hollowing as they passed by

by

by *Whitehall*, and making large Protestations at *Westminster* of their constant fidelity and adherence to the Parliament. About this time the Parliament had notice that Lord *Digby* and Colonel *Lunsford* were raising Troops of Horse at *Kingston*, where the County Magazine was lodged; whereupon they order, *That the County Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, and the Train'd Bands, shall take care to secure the Countries and their Magazine, and suppress all unlawful Assemblies.* *Lunsford* was seized and sent to the *Tower*, but *Digby* escaped beyond Sea. The King removed to *Royston*, at which time Sir *Edward Harbert* Attorney General, is questioned at the Lords Bar, to answer concerning the Articles against the Five Members; where it had gone hard with him, if the King (at his earnest Supplication) had not taken him off by a Letter to the Lord Keeper *Littleton* (who succeeded L. *Finch*) wherein the King clears the Attorney General and takes the whole business upon himself, yet concludes, *That finding cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons Accused, he had commanded his Attorney General to proceed no farther therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same*: And so this breach between the King and Parliament, seemed at present to be made up.

At this time the *Scots* having a considerable Interest in their *British* Plantations in *Ireland*, make proposals for Transporting 2500 Souldiers thither, which were accepted by both Houses, and afterward consented to by the King: After which the *Scotch* Commissioners interposed their Mediation for composing the differences between the King and Parliament, which were now grown to too great an height, for which Mr. *Pym* was ordered by the Commons to give them the thanks of the House.

January 20. The King sends a Message to the Parliament, proposing the security of his own just Rights and Royal Authority, and *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too great to be presented by themselves, that they would compose and digest them into one entire body, and send them to him; and it should then appear how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest Exam-*

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After this the Commons move the Lords to joyn with them in Petitioning for the *Militia* and the Command of the *Tower*, but they not complying, the House of Commons singly of themselves, importune the King to put those things into the hands of the Parliament, as the only available means for removal of their Fears and jealousies. But the King, not willing to part with the Principal Jewels of his Crown, signified to them *That he thought the* Militia *to be lawfully subject to no command but his own, and therefore would not let it out of his hands. That he had preferred to the Lieutenancy of the* Tower, *a Person of known Fortune and unquestionable Reputation, and that he would prefer none but such to the command of his Forts and Castles; yet would not intrust the power of conferring those Places and Dignities from himself; being derived to him from his Ancestors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom:* Yet the Commons would not desist, but again petitioned, and were again refused.

Soon after divers Petitions were delivered to the Parliament against the Votes of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers, as one from *Suffolk* with 1500, and another from the *Londoners* with 2000 hands, and a Third from the City Dames; To all which were Answered, *That the Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requests, and should so continue till Redress were obtained.* And shortly after, the Lords passed the Bill, *for disabling all Persons in holy Orders, to have any Place or Vote in Parliament, or to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction*; At the same time they petition the King again for the *Militia*, and for clearing *Kimbolton* and the Five Members, to this Answer to both which they understood his Resolution, *Not to intrust the* Militia *out of himself, nor to clear the Members but only by a General pardon*; which was unsatisfactory.

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but they refuſed to come, excuſing themſelves with *The neceſſity of performing their duties in Parliament, and diſcharging the Truſt repoſed in them:* For which they were put from their *P*laces at Court.

The Lord *Digby* about this time ſent Three Letters from *Middleburgh* in *Zealand* (where he was fled out of *England*) one to the Queen, and two others to Secretary *Nicholas*, and Sir *Lewis Deves*; ſignifying, *That if the King would openly declare his mind, and betake himſelf to ſome place of ſecurity, that he might come freely to him, he doubted not but he ſhould do him ſome acceptable Service:* Theſe Letters were intercepted by the Parliament, and by them after peruſal ſent to the King with their Intreaties to him, *That he would perſwade the Queen not to correſpond with* Digby *or any other whom his* Great Council *had proclaimed* Traytors.

There was a Report that the *P*arliament intended to Accuſe the Queen of High-Treaſon, as one that had ſo much power with the King to miſadviſe him; this rumour the *P*arliament excuſed, as a publick Scandal upon them; which ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with, yet provides againſt the danger, and therefore prevails with the King to accompany her Daughter *Mary* Princeſs of *Orange* into *Holland*, carying with her all the Kings and her own Jewels, together with thoſe entailed upon the Crown, intending with thoſe, and ſome other Aſſiſtance, to raiſe a Party ſufficient to maintain the King and his Regalities againſt the Parliament.

In the mean time Mr. *Pym* at a Conference complaining of the General flocking of Papiſts into *Ireland*, Affirmed, *That ſince the Lieutenant had ordered a ſtop upon the Ports againſt all* Iriſh *Papiſts, many of the Chief Commanders, now in the head of the Rebels had been licenſed to paſs thither by his Majeſties immediate Warrant.* The King was highly offended at this Speech, which he ſignified to the Houſe, who in their Anſwer to his Meſſage, Juſtified Mr. *Pyms* words to be the ſenſe of the Houſe, and *That they had yet in ſafe Cuſtody the Lord* Delvin, *Sir* George Hamilton, *Colonel* Butler, Brother to the Lord *Miniard*, and

in Rebellion, and one of the Lord *Nettervils* Sons: To which the King replies, *That he thought Mr.* Pyms *Speech was not ſo well grounded as it ought to have been, and that the aforementioned Perſons had their Paſſages granted before he knew of the Parliaments Order of Reſtraint; and therefore expected their Declaration for his Vindication from that odious calumny of conniving, or underhand favouring that abhorred Iriſh Rebellion.*

But this His Majeſties deſire proved fruitleſs, for they next moved the King to turn out Sir *John Byron* out of the Lieutenancy of the *Tower*, and at their Nomination Sir *John Conyers* ſucceeded; they then proceeded to name fit Perſons for truſt of the *Militia* of the ſeveral Counties: and by Act of Parliament *Diſabled all Clergy-men from exerciſing Temporal Juriſdiction:* After which the King by a Meſſage offers them, *To require by Proclamation all Statutes concerning* Popiſh *Recuſants to be put in Execution. That the ſeven condemned Popiſh Prieſts ſhall be baniſhed, and all Romiſh Prieſts within twenty dayes ſhall depart the Kingdom; That he refers the conſideration of Church Government and Liturgy wholly to the Houſes, and offers to go himſelf in Perſon againſt the Rebels in* Ireland.

But the Commons were now buſie about a Petition for Vindicating their Five Members, wherein they deſire the King to ſend them the Informers againſt the ſaid Members, or otherwiſe to deſert their Proſecution would not ſuffice; becauſe the whole Parliament was concerned in the charge. And then they proceeded to ſettle the *Militia* for the defence of the Parliament, Tower, and City of *London*, under the Command of Serjeant Major General *Skippon* who had formerly been an Experienced Souldier in the *Low-Countries*: The King had deferred his Anſwer to their Petition for ſetling the *Militia* of the Counties, according to their nomination, till his return from *Dover*, where he took leave of his Wife and Daughter, and ſo returned to *Greenwich*; from whence he ſent to *Hampton Court* for his two Eldeſt Sons to come to him, though contrary to the mind of the Parliament, who would have diſſwaded him from it.

And now the Perliament though fit to conſider of the

the reducing of *Ireland*, and ordered two Millions a
an half of thoſe Acres to be Confiſcate, of Rebels La
in Four Provinces ſhall be allotted to ſuch perſons, as
diſburſe Mony for carrying on that War, and ſeveral
ther Proviſions were made for their ſecurity, which
King confirms *Feb.* 26. 1641. and in purſuance there
conſiderable Sum of Money was raiſed, the People be
generally free in their Contributions.

The King being now at *Greenwich*, ſends this Anſwer
the Petition about the *Militia*. *That he is willing to*
deſcend to all the Propoſals concerning the Militia *of the C*
ties, and the Perſons mentioned, but not of London, *and o*
Corporations, whoſe Government in that particular, he thou
it neither Juſtice nor Policy to alter; but would not conſe
diveſt himſelf of the power of the County Militia *for an in*
finite time, but for ſome limited ſpace: This anſwer did
ſatisfie, ſo that the Breach growing dayly wider, the Ki
declined theſe parts and the Parliament, and remove
to *Theobalds*, taking with him the Prince and the D.
York.

About the beginning of *March* he receives a Petitio
from the Parliament, wherein they require the *Mili*
more reſolutely than before, affirming, *That in caſe of*
nial, the imminent dangers would conſtrain them to diſpoſe of
by Authority of Parliament; *deſiring alſo that he would ma*
his abode near London *and the Parliament, and continu*
Prince at ſome of his Houſes near the City, for the better car
ing on of Affairs, and preventing the Peoples Jealouſies a
Fears; All which being refuſed, They preſently Order
That the Kingdom be put into a poſture of Defence in ſuch a w
as was agreed upon by Parliament and a Commitee to prepar
publick Declaration from theſe two Heads. 1. *The juſt Cauſes*
the Fears and Jealouſies given to the Parliament, at the ſa
time clearing themſelves from and Jealouſies conceived againſt him
ſelf. 2 *To conſider of all matters ariſing from his Majeſties Me*
ſage, and what was fit to be done.

And now began our Trou les, and all the miſeries o
a Civil War, the Parliament every day entertaining
(or pretending to entertain (new Jealouſies and Suſpi
cio

cions of the Kings Actions, which however in compliment they made ſhew of imputing only to his Evil Council, yet obliquely had too great a Reflection upon his perſon. They now proceed on a ſudden to make great preparations both by Sea and Land; and the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of *England*, is commanded to rig the Kings Ships, and fit them for Sea; and likewiſe all Maſters and owners of Ships were perſuaded to do the like. The Beacons were repaired, Sea-marks ſet up, and extraordinary poſting up and down with Pacquets; all ſad Prognoſticks of the Calamities enſuing.

The King being now at *Royſton*, *March* 9. the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Holland* bring him the Parliaments Declaration, and read it to him; wherein they repreſent to him ſome former miſcarriages: *As the attempts to incenſe the late* Northern *Army againſt the Parliament*, *The* Scotiſh *Troubles*, *L.* Jermins *Treaſon and Tranſportation by the Kings Warrant*, *the Petition delivered to Captain* Leg, *with the Kings own hand*, *with the Direction ſigned* C. R. *The buſineſs of the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members*. *The ſuſpicious deſigning a Guard about his perſon*, *and underhand promoting the* Iriſh *Rebellion*. *The ordering Sir* John Pennington *to land the Lord* Digby *beyond Sea*; *from thence to alienate the King from his Parliament*, *and to procure Forreign Forces for his Aſſiſtance*, *which now* (*ſaid they*) *appeared more credible by reaſon of his removal with the Prince*, *and the manifold Advertiſements from* Rome, Venice, Paris, *and other parts*, *certifying that the Popes* Nuncio *had ſolicited the Kings of* France *and* Spain, *to lend his Majeſty* 4000 *Men againſt Religion and the Parliament*; *and laſtly*, *They deſire him to turn away his wicked Councillors*, *and to rely upon his Parliament*, *which if he would do*, *they would ſacrifice their Lives*, *Fortunes*, *and utmoſt endeavours to the Supportation of his Sovereignty*.

After the reading of the Declaration, the Lords would have perſuaded the King to come near the Parliament, and to grant the *Militia* for a time; which his Majeſty refuſed, and told them in ſhort, *That their Fears*, *and Doubts and Jealouſies were ſuch as he would take time to ſatisfie*

ſatisfie the whole World of; *but that his own doubts were Trivial, occaſioned by ſo many Scandalous Pamphlets, and Seditious Sermons*; *divers publick Tumults hitherto uninquired into and unpuniſhed*; and ſome time after the King publiſhed Declaration to the People, in Anſwer to theirs; the ſu of which was:

'That he had no evil Counſellors about him, but le 'ſuch to their cenſure where they ſhould find them. Th 'he deſired the Judgments of Heaven might be manife 'upon thoſe who had any deſign againſt the Proteſta 'Profeſſion. That the *Scottiſh* Troubles were buried 'perpetual ſilence, by the *Act of Oblivion*, and paſſed in t 'Parliaments of both Kingdoms. That they charging hi 'with any inclining to the *Iriſh* Rebels, was a high a 'cauſleſs injury to his Royal Reputation. That he n 'ver intended to exaſperate the late Army, or in a 'wiſe to uſe them againſt the Parliament. That Capt 'Leg's Petition was brought to him, ſubſcribed by th 'Officers of the Army, deſiring that the Parliament mig 'not be hindred from reforming the Church and Sta 'to the Model of Queen *Elizabeths* days, and was advant 'gious to them: And to aſſure Sir *Jacob Aſhly* of his O 'pinion therein, he writ *C. R.* That the Lord *Digby* a 'Mr. *Jermin*, neither were at *Whitehal*, nor had any War 'rant from him after the Reſtraint. That he had give 'ſufficient Anſwer about *Kimbolton* and the five Member 'That the care of his own ſafety cauſed him to raiſe 'Guard at *Whitehall*, and to receive the Loyal Tende 'which the Gentlemen of the *Inns of Court* did make hi 'of their Service. And that he looked upon their For 'reign Advertiſements by them mentioned as meer 'wild and irrational.

The King goes further *Northward*, whilſt the Parlia men Voted the Ordinance for Defence of the Kingdom not to be prejudicial to the Oath of *Allegiance*, but to b obeyed as the Fundamental Laws; and that the King Commands for Lieutenancy over the ſeveral Counties were illegal and void; but he coming to *Huntington* ſend them a Meſſage *March* 15. *That he intends to make his Re*

ſidence

Residence at York, *and desires them to hasten their Succours for* Ireland, *and not upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which he is not a Party) of the* Militia, *or any other thing, to Do or Execute against the Laws, which he himself was to keep, and his Subjects to obey, declaring his Subjects not to be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or Injunction, to which he hath not given Assent:* In answer to which they resolve; *That the absence of the King so far from his Parliament, was destructive to the Relief of* Ireland; *and therefore all those Counsellors which advised him to it, are to be suspected as Favourers of that bloody Rebellion, as likewise these who perswaded his Majesty to question or contradict their Votes, which was a high breach of Priviledge of Parliament.*

March, 16. The King at *Stanford* publishes a Proclamation for putting the Laws in Execution against *Popish* Recusants; and from thence he goes to *York*, and there *March* 24. Repeals his Grant for passing the *Bill against Tunnage* and *Poundage*, of *June* 22 last past, commanding the payment thereof for the future, according to the Act of the First of King *James*, and so this year ended.

It was now the year 1642. and the 18th. of his Majesties Reign, when a fresh Difference arose; for the Earl of *Northumberland*, Admiral of *England*, being indisposed, the King ordered Sir *John Pennington*, Vice-Admiral, to take the charge of the Summer Fleet for the Narrow Seas; but the Parliament earnestly desired that it might be conferred upon the Earl of *Warwick*, but were refused by the King to their great distast. During the Assizes at *York*, the Gentry, Ministers, and Freeholders of that County, presented a Petition to the King, to endeavour an Agreement with the Parliament, who advises them to apply themselves to the *Parliament*, for the good of all. And next day he sends a Message to the Houses, 'That he intended to raise his Guard out of the Counties near *Chester*, Two Thousand Foot, and Two Hundred Horse, to be supplied with Arms from the Magazine at *Hull*, upon taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, That if the *Parliament*

'Under

'Undertaking for the *Iriſh* War. would not ſuffice to d
'fray the charges of raiſing and paying them, he wou
'pawn or ſell his Land or Houſes; deſiring them with
'to quicken their Lives for *Munſter* and *Connaught*,
'the *Scots* already did theirs of *Ulſter*; and offers his P
'ſon againſt the Rebels.

The Parliament having for ſome time miſtruſted t
Kings going *North*, to be intended for ſeizing the Ma
zine at *Hull*, endeavoured to prevent it, declaring th
ſuſpicion of his deſign to raiſe an Army, and therefo
pray, 'That it might be removed from thence to t
'*Tower* of *London*, as a place of more ſafety, and eaſ
'tranſport for *Ireland*; and that the Reprieve for the P
'piſh Prieſts in *Newgate* may be recalled, and they e
cured. And to make all ſure, Sir *John Hotham*, a Me
ber of the Houſe of Commons, is ſent down to take u
on him the Government of that place who by his ſu
den coming thither, prevented the Earl of *New-Ca*
who was deſigned by the King to be Governor there
ſo that when the King came to *Hull* in Perſon, with
Gaurd conſiſting of Lords and Gentlemen, *April.* 2
1642 he finds the Gates ſhut upon him, and the Brid
drawn up; but from the Wall *Hotham* appears, and
on his knees intreats his Majeſty, *Not to command th*
which without breach of his Truſt he could not yield obedienc

Whereupon the King finding his entrance preven
cauſed *Hotham* inſtantly to be proclaimed Traytor, a
by Letters to the Parliament, complained of that ind
nity, and required ſatisfaction; but they juſtified hi
therein, and ſent a Committee of the Lords and Co
mons to reſide there, for the better ſecuring the Garri
to them, and gave the Governour power to rai
ed Bands for his defence; after which the King hear
that the Parliament had raiſed a Guard of themſel
without his conſent; and reflecting upon the buſin
of *Hotham*, he ſummoned the Gentry of *Yorkſhire* to
Meeting, and acquainted them, 'That his Magazine
Hull was going to be taken from him againſt his
'the *Militia* againſt the Law and his conſent put in

ution, and Sir *John Hothams* Treason countenanced, so that he was resolved to have a Guard to secure his person, in which he desired their Assistance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion, from violation or injury.

The King had hereby indifferently strengthene d himself, and more had come in, had not those Members of Parliament, who came to the King at *York*, prevailed with some of the Free-holders to protest against it. And the Parliament declare, 'That the Subjects unless bound to it by special Service, could not be commanded to attend the King at his pleasure, without transgressing against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom. And that whosoever upon pretence of his Majesties Command, shall take up Arms in warlike manner, shall be esteemed Disturbers of the *Peace*, and to be proceeded against accordingly.

In the mean while Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, who had been Recorder of *London* for six years, being impeached by the Parliament, and in danger of hanging, was glad to shift for himself, and by flight escaped to the King; at which time his Majesty endeavoured to have removed the Term from *London* to *York*, but was much opposed therein by the Parliament, who Voted it Illegal, and forbad the L. Keeper to issue out Writs, or Seal any Proclamation to that purpose. The Parliament now proceeded to put the people into a Military posture, requiring Persons in Authority to put the late ordinance of the Militia in Execution, which the King by his Proclamation forbids; but for the *Peoples* satisfaction the *Parliament* published a severe Declaration to the same effect as their former Remonstrance; only this was added, 'That the King at his being in *Scotland* had countenanced the Rebellious in their Rebellious designs, and that his connivance was manifested by his tedious with-holding the Proclamation whereby they were declared Traytors till *Jan.* 2. being almost a Quarter of a Year after the breaking out of the Rebellion, and then had appointed but forty Copies to be printed; and none

of

'of them to be publiſhed without his pleaſure ſignifi
'whereas his Proclamations againſt the *Scots* had be
'diſperſed throughout all the Kingdom with publi
'Prayers and Execrations.

The King makes a ſpeedy Anſwer hereunto, not mu
differing from what he had ſaid before; yet tells the
'That as to the buſineſs of the *Iriſh*, his Council in
'*land* had deſired them no ſooner, nor ſo many Co
'by twenty as he had Signed and ſent them. His M
'jeſty had written a Letter to his Privy Council of *Sc*
'to take away from them all ſuſpicion of thoſe Imp
'tions ſo frequently laid to his Charge of being *Pop*
'affected to be guilty of the bloodſhed in *Ireland*, a
'to bring in Forreign Forces; Wherewith they ſeem
'ſo ſatisfied, that they returned a moſt reſpectful Anſw
and preſently interpoſed their Mediaton to heal t
Breach before it grew wider; humbly deſiring the K
to hearken to his Parliament, as his greateſt, his beſt, and
unparalleld Council; and diſcouraging him from any per
Journey into Ireland. This Meſſage was ſent by the E
of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and after this
Scots Petition to the Kings Privy Council there, *No*
meddle with any verbal or real Engagement for the King a
the Parliament. Hereupon the *Engliſh* Parliament p
liſh a Proteſtation, wherein they vindicate their o
proceedings, and declare the great ſenſe they had of
Affection of their *Scotiſh* Brethren manifeſted unto th
in ſo many particulars, and more eſpecially the men
ned Petition.

The Earl of *Briſtol*, an Old Experienced Stateſm
prudently foreſaw that ſuch unhappy beginnings m
neceſſarily have a very bad Iſſue, and therefore earne
endeavoured an Accomodation by ſtating the Caſe in
Houſe of Lords; repreſenting the Offers of the Kin
the one ſide, and the Profeſſions of the Parliament
the other; and likewiſe the dreadful Effects of a C
War (then likely to enſue) by the Example of
woful Deſolations in *Germany*, and the expenſive T
bles in *Scotland*; and then propoſes ſome method
prev

preventing these dangers; as 1. That a select Committee of Parliament should truly state the matters in difference; with the most probable ways of reconciling them. 2. To consider particularly what may be expected either in point of supporting the King, or relieving his People: And lastly, how the Conditions agreed upon, may be secured. And to shew the necessity of this course; he discovers the deplorable state of *Ireland*, the debts and necessities of the Crown, the distractions which were likely to produce confusion of Religion, most dangerous and destructive to a State, besides the general Distraction of the Subjects, who between Commands, and Countermands knew not whom to obey. This was admitted as good and solid Reason, but Divine Justice would not so permit the Sins of the *English* Nation to go unpunished, and the L. *Bristols* Speech, though well received, yet proved ineffectual.

In the mean time the Kings Guard increases at *York*, which the House voted a preparation for War against the Parliament, a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, and that all such as serve them there are Traitors to the Laws of the Kingdom, as the Act of 11 *Rich.* 2. & 1 *Hen.* 3. This was followed by another Declaration or Remonstrance of the misactions of the King, and their own Priviledges, which the King answers and they again reply to; and *May* 28. the Parliament ordain, That all Sheriffs, Justices, *&c.* make stay of all Arms and Ammunition going to the King at *York*: the King on the other side forbids all Persons belonging to the Trained Bands or Militia of the Kingdom, to obey any Order, or Ordinance of any of the Houses; divers Members of both Houses withdrew themselves to the King, as being unsatisfied with their proceedings; whereupon the Parliament Ordered, That all such as did not make their Personal Appearance by *June* 16 ensuing, should be fined an 100 Pounds towards the *Irish* Wars, such only excepted as were imployed by the Parliament.

They likewise understood that the Queen had pawned the Crown Jewels in *Holland* for Money to be transported

ported to the King; which to prevent him of, they
der, *That whoever hath, or shall pay, lend, send, or bring*
Money in Specie *into this Kingdom, for, or upo[illegible] Jewe*
or acccept of any Bill hereafter, shall be an E[illegible] the St

June 2. The Parliament sent to the King Nineteen
positions: 1. 'That all the Kings Privy Council, g
'Officers, and Ministers of State may be put out exc
'such as the Parliameut shall approve; and that an O
'be tendered them. 2. That all Affairs of State be ma
'ged by the Parliament except such matters as are tra
'ferr'd by them to the Privy Council, and to be co
'cluded by the Major part of the Nobility under th
'hands, the full number not to exceed Twenty fi
'not to be under Fifteen. If any place shall
'Void in the interval of Parliament, then that
'major part of the Council chuse one to be confir
'at the next Sessions of Parliament. 3. That all grea
'ficers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with Appr
'tion of Parliament. 4. That the Government and
'ducation of the Kings Children, be by appointme
'Parliament. 5. That their Marriages be treated
'concluded by Parliament. 6. That the Laws ag
'*Papists*, *Priests*, and others be executed, without
'leration or Dispensation, except by Parliamen
'That no *Popish* Lord or Peer have Vote in Parliam
'and their Children be educated in the *Protestant P*
'8. That Church Government be reformed as the
'liament shall advise. 9. That the *Militia* be setled a
'Parliament have ordered, and that the King recal a
'Declarations, published against their Ordinances th
'in. 10. That all Privy Councillors and Judges take
'Oath for the maintenance of *The Petition of Right*,
'other Statutes, which shall be made by this Parliam
'That all Officers placed by Parliament hold their
'ces, *Quam diu bene se gesserint*, as long as they shall
'justly. 12. That all Members of Parliament put
'during this time, be restored again. 13. That
'Justice of Parliament pass upon all Delinquents, and
'they appear or abide their censure. 14. That the

ral Pardon pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise. 5. That all Forts and Castles of this Kingdom be disposed of by Parliament. 16. That the King discharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not raise any other, but in case of actual Rebellion. 17. That the King enter into strict Alliance with all *Protestant* Kingdoms and States for their assistance, to recover the Rights of his Sister, and her Princely Issue, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong to them. 18. That the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members be cleared by *Act of Parliament*. 19. That no Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their consent.

These propositions were rejected by the King as inconsistent with his Regality: so that now Men began to despair of any good Issue, for both sides make preparations for War; The King sending out his *Commissions of Array*; and the Parliament published an Order *June* 10. for bringing in money or Plate to maintain the Horse, Horse-men, and Arms, for the publick peace and defence of the King and both Houses of Parliament; and declared the Kings *Commission* to be against the Law, Liberty and property of the Subject; and the Actors thereto to be disturbers of the peace, and Betrayers of the Subjects Liberty. At this time the Lord keeper *Littleton*, having delivered the Great Seal to one *Eliot*, whom the King sent for it, durst not stay behind for fear of being questioned, but went to the King to *York*, as many of the Peers did likewise whom the King summoning together, as also his Privy Council; he declares and protests them, 'That he would not Usurp any Illegal Authority over them, but is ready to maintain them against all others that would. And that he would defend them from all Votes and Orders of Parliament together with the true *Protestant* Religion, the lawful Liberty of the Subject, and the just Priviledges of the Three Estates of Parliament; nor will he Engage them in any War but what shall be for the necessary defence of his and their rights; Whereupon they all ingaged to him

their Duty and Allegiance in a moſt ſolemn Proteſtation After which the King ſent Letters to Sir *Rich. Gurney* Mayor, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London*, for bidding them, upon peril of having their Charter queſtioned, to levy Arms or raiſe Mony, upon pretence of Guard to the Parliament, or any other account, except only the relief of *Ireland*, or the payment of the Scots Subjects.

At this time the King publiſheth a General Declaration, wherein he deſcants upon all the Parliaments Declarations for the laſt 7 Months, but eſpecially the laſt; profeſſing that henceforward he expects they ſhould break out into diſloyal Actions, declaims againſt their making the defence of the King, to be the pretence for the raiſing Forces; proteſts his own conſtant Reſolution for the preſerving of Peace, Religion, the Laws, and Subjects Liberties, and expects all his Subjects to Aſſiſt him against the Traiterous Attempts of ſuch Men as would deſtroy his Perſon, Honour and Eſtate, and bring on a Civil War engaging that whoſoever ſhall bring to him Money, Ammunition, Horſe, or Arms, ſhall receive Eight Pounds *per Cent.* Conſideration, and have good Aſſurance of both Principal and Intereſt, upon his Forreſt Lands, Parks and Houſes.

After this the King by Proclamation forbids all Levies of Forces, and all Contributions to ſuch Levies, without his expreſs pleaſure; grounding it upon ſeveral Statutes as 7 *Edw.* 1. 2 *Edw.* 3. And then minds them of the Oath of Allegiance, by which they were bound to be Faithful not to the King only as King, but to his Perſon as King *Charles*, contrary to the Parliaments diſtinction betwixt his Perſon, and his Authority; his Perſon at *York* and his Authority in Parliament, and concludes with juſtifying his *Commiſſions of Array*, which were now Iſſued out in ſeveral Counties in *England* and *Wales*; to this the Parliament reply, and the King again to them which was followed by ſeveral Meſſages to and fro; which rather exaſperated than allayed the difference; and now began *England* to be divided, as *Italy* once was by

Guelphs

Guelphes and *Gibellines*, ſo they into *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians*, or *Cavileers* and *Roundheads*.

After this the King makes a Progreſs from *York*, into the Counties of *Nottingham* and *Lincoln*, and Summons the Gentlemen and Freeholders to *Newark*; he Carreſſes them with the moſt obliging, expreſſions imaginable. And *July* 11. 1642. His Majeſty ſends a Meſſage to the Parliament to Certifie them of his Intentions to reduce *Hull* by force, if not forthwith delivered to him, which if they ſhould do, he would then admit of their future addreſſes, and return ſuch Propoſitions as might beſt conduce to prevent the approaching War; together with this Meſſage he ſent them likewiſe a Copy of the Proclamation, which he had publiſhed againſt Sir *J. Hotham*, wherein he complains of the Affront done to his Perſon by Sir *J.* and of the Parl. Juſtifying that Action by their Votes and Orders; That *Hotham* having fortified the Town, and drowned the Countrey, had alſo ſet out a Pinnace at Sea, which had intercepted his Packquet Boat with the Queens Letters, and that the Earl of *Warwick* contrary to the Kings Command, had taken upon him the Command of the Fleet; for which Reaſons the King was reſolv'd to puniſh *Hotham*. Indeed the Earl of *W.* had been by the Parliament commended to the King as the fitteſt man for Admiral (the E. of *North* being then ſick) but he was rejected by the King, who conferr'd that place upon Sir *John Pennington*; Yet afterwards the Parl. conceiving it neceſſary to get the Fleet into their hands, they found means notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of Sir *J. Pennington* and his Adherents to make the E. of *Warwick* Admiral; after which a Ship laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, for the King being Ignorant of the matter, fell in among the Fleet and was by the E. of *Warwick* ſent to the Parliament.

The Parliament now thought fit to Arm, and therefore reſolve that an Army ſhall be raiſed for Defence (as they term it) of King and Parliament; and the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Capt. General, and the E. of *Bedford* to command the Horſe; the E. of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and

Sir *Wil. Stapleton*, were ordered to carry a Petition the King then at *Beverly*, the effect whereof was, *To him to disband all his Forces, to recal his* Commissions Array, *and dismiss his Guard, and return to the Parliament:* which the King refused. The Parliament next consi of raising Money, and so declare for Loan upon the *lick Faith*; to promote which the endeavours of Ministers were very serviceable, whereby in a short a very considerable quantity of Money, Plate, and munition were brought in.

The King was likewise furnished with Money fr the Queen upon the pawned Jewels, and some Con bution from divers Lords and Gentlemen, and the U versity of *Oxford*. The King goes from *Beverly* to *cester*, and there proclaims the Earl of *Stamford* Trai for removing the County *Magazine* from the Town his own house at *Bradgate*, *August* 1. The King co back to *Yorkshire*, and raises a Regiment under the E. *Cumberland*, which he called Prince *Charles* his Regim

The Parliament on the other side declare the *Com sioners of Array* to be Traitors and disturbers of the *St* and *Peace* of the Kingdom, and Lieutenants of seve Counties were constituted by Parliament. The King li wise deals with their Commanders as they did with and proclaimed General *Essex* with all his Collonels Officers who should not instantly lay down their Ar to be Rebels and Traitors; and the Marques of *H ford* and his Forces are ordered to march against hi The King then Summons in the Country on the *N side* of *Trent*, and 20 miles *Southward*, and published Grand Declaration concerning all transactions betwe himself and the Parliament.

August 22. 1642. The King comes to *Nottingham*, there erects his Standard, to which some numbers re ted, but far short of what was expected; And th days after the King sends a Message to the Parliament propose a Treaty; the Messengers were the Earls *Southampton* and *Dorsert*, Sir *John Culpepper Chancellor* Exchequer, and Sir *William Udal*; none of which w

fered to ſit in the Houſe, to deliver their Errand, there-
re it was ſent in by the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, to
hich the Parliament anſwered, That until His Majeſty
all recal his Proclamations, and Declarations of Trea-
on againſt the E. of *Eſſex*, and them and their Adhe-
nts; And unleſs the Kings Standard ſet up in purſuance
hereof, be taken down, they cannot by the fundamental
viledges of Parliament, give His Majeſty another An-
wer.

The King replies, that he never intended to declare
he Parliament Traitors, or ſet up his Standard againſt
hem; but if they reſolve to Treat, either Party ſhall re-
oke their Declarations againſt all Perſons as Traitors,
nd the ſame day to take down his Standard.

To this they anſwer, That the Differences could not any
ys be concluded, unleſs he would forſake his evil Coun-
lors, and return to his Parliament; And accordingly
Jun. 6. They Order and Declare, that the Arms which
y have or ſhall take up for the *Parliament*, *Religion*, *Laws*,
Liberties of the Kingdom, ſhall not be laid down un-
the King withdraw his Protection from ſuch Perſons as
or ſhall be Voted Delinquents, and ſhall leave them to
fice, that ſo their Eſtates many diſcharge the Debts &
n Moneys of the Common wealth.

The War being now begun, the new raiſed Souldiers
mitted many Outrages upon the Countrey People,
ich both King and Parliament upon Complaint en-
voured to rectifie: The King himſelf was now *Gene-*
ſſimo over his own, his Captain General was firſt the
arqueſs of *Hartford*, and afterward the E. of *Lindſey*;
the E. of *Eſſex* for the *Parliamentarians*; The Kings
rces received the firſt repulſe at *Hull* by Sir *John Ho-*
m, and Sir *John Meldrum*, and the King takes up his
arters at *Shrewsbury*; *Portſmouth* was next ſurrendred
the Parliament, and preſently after Sir *John Byron* takes
ceſter for the King: in *September* the two Prince *Pala-*
s, *Rupert* and *Maurice* arrived in *England*, who were
ſently entertained, and put into Command by the
g; who having now got together a potent Army, he

made a ſolemn Proteſtation to them of his candid Intentions, and ſincere meaning to defend the *Proteſtant Religion*, the Laws and Liberties of the Subject, and Privileges of Parliament, according to the former proteſtation at *York*.

Sept. 9. The Earl of *Eſſex* in great State attended on by the Parliament ſet forth out of *London* toward St. *Albans*, and from thence to *Northampton*, where at his Forces met, amounting to near fourteen thouſand men, having with him the Parliaments Petition, which he was to preſent to the King, the effect of which was.

That his Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament, cannot without tenderneſs of Compaſſion behold the preſſing Calamities of England, *and* Ireland, *by the practices of the prevailing Party with his Majeſty, to alter true Religion and the Ancient Government of this Kingdom, introducing Superſtition into the Churches, and Confuſion in the State; Exciting, encouraging, and foſtering the Rebellion in* Ireland, *and there, ſo here begins the like Maſſacres; by drawing on a War againſt the* Parliament, *leading his Perſon againſt them, and by Conqueſt to eſtabliſh an unlimited Power over the People, ſeeking to bring over the Rebels of* Ireland *to joyn with them. And all theſe evil Counſellors are Defended and protected againſt the Juſtice of the Parliament, who having for their juſt Defence of Religion, the Kings Crown and dignity, the Laws, Liberties and Power of Parliaments taken up Arms, and Authorized the E. of* Eſſex *to be their Captain General againſt theſe Rebels and Traytors. And pray the King to withdraw his Perſon and leave them to be ſuppreſt by his Power, and to return to his Parliament, and that they would receive him with Honour, and yield him Obedience, ſecure his Perſon, and eſtabliſh him and his People with all the Bleſſings of a Glorious and Happy Reign.*

This Petition was never delivered, though *Eſſex* ſent twice to the King for ſafe conduct for thoſe who were to preſent it; for the King refuſed to receive any Addreſs from thoſe whom he accuſed of High Treaſon, of which the E. of *Eſſex* was one: The King then marches from *Shrewsbury* toward *London*, upon which the Parliament ordered the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties of *Eſſex*, *Hart-*

Hartford Middlesex, and *London* to be ready at an hours warning; They likewise order that the Lands, Rents and Profits of Archbishops and Bishops shall be Sequestred, as likewise the Kings Fines about Wards.

A while after Collonel *Fines* and *Sands* were routed at *Worcester* by Prince *Rupert* while they endeavoured to take the Town from Sir *John Byron*, who had it in possession for the King; but *Essex* making his approach with his Army, Prince *Rupert* and *Byron* quitted the Town to him; then were *Gloucester*, *Bristol* and others places made Garrisons for the Parliament; But in *Yorkshire* and *Cornwal* the Kings Party grew powerful, and likewise in *Wales*; where the E. of *Worcester* had got together a great number of *Welchmen*, so that the King seeing his Army increased, resolved to march toward *London*, and was gotten one dayes Journey before *Essex*; who perceiving his Error of staying so long at *Worcester*, hastens after him, to the relief of his Masters; the King disdaining to be pursued by a Subject, turns back to meet him, and *October* 23. 1642. both Parties drew into the Field between *Kinton* and *Edge-hill* in *Warwickshire*, where on both sides were slain between five and 6000 men that day, but night parting them, the next day both parties quit the Field, the King then marches to *Coventry*, and from thence sends a Proclamation of Pardon to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, some persons only excepted. This Battle of *Edge-hill* was fought on Sunday, the same day twelve Month the *Irish* Rebellion brake out.

The King then takes in *Banbury*, the Town and Castle being surrendred without a blow, and two Regiments of Foot, and a Troop of Horse took Arms under him; from thence the King marches to *Oxford*, and *Essex* goes to *London*, where he was received with great Honour; The Parliament to recruit their Army, declare, *That all Apprentices who will List themselves, shall be free from their Masters for that time, and shall afterward be received again into service*: By which means abundance were induced to turn Souldiers; they likewise invite the *Scots* to come in to their assistance; which the King by a Let-

ter to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Scotland* endeavours to prevent, but in vain: At this time several of the Lords and Commons present a Petition to the King at *Colebrook* to desire him to appoint a place to treat in: To which he answered: *He would expect them at his Castle of* Windsor, *and desire them to hasten the Treaty.*

At the same time, the King hearing that *Essex* had drawn his Forces and Ordnance out of *London* toward him, and that unless he gained *Brainford*, he would be hemm'd in by the Parliaments Army, who possessed most of the Towns round about him; the King marches thither that night, where part of Col. *Hollis*'s Regiment that quartered there, made a stout resistance, till the L. *Brook*'s and Col. *Hambdens* Regiment came in to their relief, who maintained the Fight till night, and then retreated out of Town, which the King presently took possession of, with some Prisoners, Arms and Ammunition, 11 Colours, and 15 pieces of Ordnance: *Essex* hearing this, soon came thither, followed with the City *Militia* and Trained Bands, which together made a formidable Army, so that the King thought fit to march back again to *Oxford*; This Action in a time of Treaty (though not without sufficient ground) was so ill resented by the Houses, that they Voted *to have no Accommodation:* Yet afterward upon consideration, they again Petition him to desert his Army, and return to his Parliament, but with the same success as formerly.

At this time a Letter from one of the Kings Agents in *Holland* was intercepted; in which he is adverris'd of considerable Forces ready to be sent over for his Service from *Denmark* likewise Arms are sent for ten thousand Foot, and 2500 Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and every thing proportionable, even to the Drums and Halberts. In *Yorkshire* the Earl of *Newcastle* had a sharp rencounter at *Tadcaster* with the L. *Fairfax*, and forced him to retreat: the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, the Isle of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, are authorized by Parliament to associate under the L. *Gray* of *Wark*, and *Winchester* and *Chester* are gained by the Parliament.

Dec. 15. Collonel *Goring* with the Kings Standard, 80 Old Commanders, and ſtore of Warlike Proviſion, joyn with the E. of *Newcaſtle*. About which time the City of *London* Petitioned the King, and profeſs their grief, for his diſtruſt of their Loyalty, with large Proteſtations of their zealous intentions to defend him, with all the Love and Duty which became good Subjects. The King replies, *That he hath a good Opinion of many of them, and could freely and willingly Pardon all except* Pennington *the preſent Major*, Venn *and ſome others*; *and concludes with declaring his high diſpleaſure againſt ſuch as ſhall continue acting and aſſiſting his Adverſaries*: Many of them were ſtartled, with this Anſwer, yet were revived again with what Mr. *Pryn* and the Parliament Committee told their Common Council, of the Parliaments great Love and Affection to them, and Reſolution to live and dye in their Defence.

In the North Sir *Hugh Cholmly* encounters with ſeveral Parties of the Kings Horſe at *Malton*, and *Jan.* 16. joyning with Sir *Matthew Boynton*, routed a Party of 600 Horſe and Foot under Col. *Slingsby*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* likewiſe take *Leeds* with little loſs on his ſide, but 500 Royaliſts were made Priſoners, (ſix of them Commanders) 4 Colours, and much Arms and Ammunition were taken; The Kings Forces next leave *Wakefield* and *Doncaſter*, which are preſently garriſoned for the Parliament. The E. of *Newcaſtle* brings his Forces to *York*, to prepare for entertaining the Queen; and *Jan.* 17. he proclaims the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, *Traytors*, (as the E. of *Cumberland* had done before) which the Parliament reſenting, proclaimed the L. *Newcaſtle* the ſame.

The Parliament, *Febr.* 1. make theſe follow Propoſitions to the King at *Oxford* (which were preſented by the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*; *Pembrook*, and *Holland*, with 8 of the Houſe of Commons.) *To disband his Army, and to return home to his Parliament*; *To leave all Delinquents to Tryal, and all* Papiſts *to be diſarmed*: *To paſs an Act for Abolishing the preſent Church Governours, and ſuch other Bills as ſhall be prepared* in order to a Reformation;

All

All Popiſh Recuſants *to abjure and renounce* Popery; *All Malignant Councillors to be removed, the* Militia *to be ſetled according to the Parliaments minds: ſuch Perſons to be preferr'd to Great Offices and Places of Judicature, as the Parliament ſhall name, and all ſuch Juſtices of Peace as have been lately turned out of Commiſſion be again taken in*; That an Act paſs to *Vindicate the L.* Kimbolton, *and the 5 Members. And an Alliance be entred into with our* Proteſtant *Neighbours for Recovery of the* Palatinate. *That a General Pardon paſs, with exception to the E. of* Newcaſtle, *L.* Digby, *and ſome others; That ſuch Members of Parliament as have been diſplaced, be reſtored to Offices and Places, and ſatisfaction made them for their Loſſes.*

On the other ſide, the King Propoſed, 'That his own 'Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Ships, and Forts be re- 'ſtored: That what hath been done contrary to Law, and 'the Kings Rights, may be renounced, and recalled: 'That all Illegal Power claimed, or acted by any Order 'of Parliament, be diſclaimed; And as the King will 'readily conſent to the Execution of all Laws made or 'to be made concerning Popery and Reformation, ſo he 'deſires a Bill for the preſerving the *Book of Common* 'Prayer againſt Sectaries; And that all Perſons excep- 'ted againſt in the Treaty, may be Tryed *per Pares* by 'their Equals: That there be a Ceſſation of Arms, and 'a Free Trade.

This made way for a Treaty of Peace, but little was done in it till *March* 4. 1642. when Sir *Ben. Rudyard* one of the Commons told the Parliament plainly, *That the War would ruine all*; whereupon they appointed Commiſſioners, that is, the E. of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pelham*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, who were to attend the King at *Oxford*.

Feb. 23. 1642. The Queen landed at *Burlington Key* with Officers, Ammunition and Mony from *Holland*, from whence the E. of *Montroſs*, and the Lord *Ogilby* conveyed her to *York* where ſhe was honourably received by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Newcaſtle*, and there ſhe began to form her Army. In the mean time Coll. *Maſſey* advanced

advances againſt Capt. *Bridges*, who kept *Shudly-Caſtle* in *Gloceſterſhire*, with 60 Souldiers, and all other things ſufficient, for the Lord *Shandois* on the Kings behalf; Coll. *Maſſey* offers to ſtorm the Caſtle, but is repulſed, yet next day he poſſeſſed the Garden under the Caſtle, and firing ſome hay and ſtraw, made ſo great a ſmother in the Houſe, that taking the opportunity thereof, he planted his great Guns ſo conveniently as forced the Beſieged to ſurrender upon Quarter, leaving their Arms, and ingaging to pay 500 pounds in ſix days for the goods in the Caſtle, or elſe to loſe them.

Yet had the Parliament no great cauſe of boaſting of this Victory; For ſoon after P. *Rupert* with 4000 Horſe and Foot making ſhew to regain it, marches to *Cirenceſter* where the ſtrength and great part of the Magazine of the County lay. *Feb.* 1. He maſters the Guard, and forces his paſſage into the Town, which in two hours he gained, taking 1100 Priſoners, and 2000 Arms; And next day he ſummons *Gloceſter*, which Coll. *Maſſey* was reſolved to defend, and to ſtrengthen it, deſerts *Shudly-Caſtle* and other out-Garriſons.

The Earl of *Worceſter* and his Son the L. *Herbert* had now raiſed an Army of near 1500 *Welchmen* for the King, with whom he marched to the Forreſt of *Dean*, and beat Coll. *Burroughs* Regiment out of a ſmall Town call'd *Coford* near *Monmouth*; from thence they march to *Hingham* within 2 miles of *Gloceſter*, and Coll. *Bret* demands the Town for the King, but was anſwered with ſcorn; for *Maſſey* with aſſiſtance from Captain *Fines* at *Briſtol*, weakned them with continual Skirmiſhes, till Sir *William Waller* having taking *Malmsbury* came to *Gloceſter*, and joyned his Forces with the other, ſo that this *Welch* Army ſpent near five weeks without doing any Memorable Action.

But now Coll. *Maſſey* draws out all his Horſe, with 500 Foot, and ſome Ordnance, and held them play the firſt day; the next morning the great Guns give the Alarum, and both Parties engage very fiercely, and the *Welch* were like to have routed him, and taken his Ordnance,

nance, at which inſtant Sir *William Waller* comes in to *Maſſeys* aſſiſtance, who taking courage thereby, they run furiouſly upon the *Welchmen*, and drive them back to *Hingham* houſe, which they began preſently to batter with their Cannon; whereupon the *Welch* ſound a Parley, and ſurrender the Place, and themſelves Priſoners, but the Officers were to receive Quarter according to their Qualities; and next day *Waller* and *Maſſey* led their booty in Triumph to *Gloceſter*.

The aſſiſtance of the *Scots* had been formerly deſired by the Parliament, which notwithſtanding their late Proteſtations not to take Arms againſt their Prince, they now hearken to, and having compleated their Army, *March* 13. 1641. they croſs the River *Tyne*, and march *Southward*, to imploy the E. of *Newcaſtle*.

The *Iriſh* Rebels about this time (notwithſtanding the defeats they met with at *Tredagh* and *Dundalk*) were much increaſed in number; And the Pope (a more unhappy Fiſher than his pretended Predeceſſor St. *Peter*, who was for ſaving, but he for deſtroying men) ſends two Letters to them, one ſubſcribed to *Owen Oneal*, and the other to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Nobles and People of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in both which he commends thoſe who had already appeared in the Quarrel, and exhorts others to ingage in the ſame, declaring his great Joy for their late Butcheries and Maſſacres upon the *Proteſtants*, and beſtowing upon them his Fatherly Benediction, and Plenary Pardon and Abſolution for whatever Villanies they had committed. By the Popes thus publickly declaring himſelf for them, the Rebels grew very powerful, and many who were at firſt afraid of being concerned, now openly appeared for them, inſomuch that all parts of *Ireland* were overwhelmed by them as with an Inundation.

This year was remarkable for the death of Cardinal *Richlieu*, that great Firebrand and diſturber of *Europe*, but more particularly theſe three Kingdoms, of whoſe diſtractions he was both a principal cauſer, and Fomenter; He led the way to his Maſter *Lewis* 13. who deceaſed

ſed ſoon after in the midſt of his Conqueſts in *Catalonia*, leaving for his Succeſſor his eldeſt Son *Lewis* 14. (the preſent *French* King) under the Government of the Queen Dowager, and Cardinal *Mazarine* ſucceeded in *Richlieus* ſtead.

The year 1643. and the nineteenth of his Majeſties Reign, began with a Treaty of Peace which was formerly agreed on, but proceeded ſlowly, till it was again revived by Sir *Ben. Rudyard*; The Commiſſioners on both parties now met at *Oxford*, and began to Treat of the Kings Propoſitions, concerning his Revenue, Magazines, Forts, and Ships; And the Parliaments Propoſitions concerning the disbanding of Armies, which particulars taking up more time than the King expected, his Majeſty *April* 12. 1643. ſends this Meſſage to the Parliament.

That as ſoon as he was ſatisfied concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships & Forces, in which he deſired nothing but his Juſt and Legal known Rights to be reſtored to him, and to Perſons Truſted by him; And as ſoon as the Members of both Houſes ſhould be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and Voting in Parliament as they had upon January 1. 1641. (*excluding ſuch whoſe Votes had been taken away by* Bill, *or by new Elections, or New Writs:*) *And that as ſoon as his Majeſty and both Houſes may be ſecured from ſuch tumultuous Aſſemblies as to the High diſhonour the Parliament had awed the Members of the ſame, (which he conceived could not otherwiſe be done, but by adiourning the Parliament to ſome place Twenty miles from* London, *ſuch as the Houſes ſhould agree upon,*) *His Majeſty moſt chearfully and readily would conſent to the disbanding of the Armies, and would return ſpeedily to his two Houſes of Parliament according to the Time and Place which they ſhould agree upon.*

Upon this Meſſage the Parliament reſolved to call back their Commiſſioners, and ſo *April* 15. the Treaty ended; About the beginning of laſt *March* the L. *Brook* marched toward *Northampton*, and ſeizing the Ammunition there, he went from thence to *Warwick*, and ſo to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, and beat Coll. *Crockers*, and Lt. Coll. *Wagſtaff's*

Forces

Forces out of that Town; after which Beſiging *Litchfield*, one of the Kings Party ſhooting at a venture at the window of his Chamber, the Bullet pierced him in the Eye, of which he immediately dyed, yet his Souldiers being heightned with Revenge, took the Cloſe with the Earl of *Cheſterfield* and all his Souldiers and Ordnance; after which Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* joyning their Forces fell upon the Parliamentarians at *Litchfield* where the E. of *Northampton* was ſlain in the head of his Troop, yet Lieut. Coll. *Ruſſel* who commanded it, deſpairing of ſuccour, yielded up the place to Prince *Rupert* upon Honourable Conditions, and marched away to *Coventry*.

April 7. 1643. the E. of *Eſſex* ſate down before *Reading*, and made two aſſaults, but was repulſed; The King marched from *Oxford* to *Wallingford* for its relief, but *Eſſexs's* Army increaſing dayly with freſh ſupplies from *London*, both parties happened to Skirmiſh at *Cauſam-Bridge*, where many of the Kings Forces were ſlain, and forced to retreat; whereupon the Town was a while after ſurrendred by Coll. *Fielding*, who was made Deputy Governor in the room of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, who was diſabled by a bruiſe he received in his head with a Brickbat: *Fielding* was for this Sentenced by a Council of War at *Oxford* to loſe his Head, but by the interceſſion of Friends was pardoned.

May 3. *Cheapſide* Croſs was demoliſhed, a Troop of Horſe and two Companies of Foot waiting to ſee it done, and at the fall of the Top Croſs, Drums beat, Trumpets blew, and a great ſhout was made; *Charing-croſs*, and all other Croſſes in and about *London* were likewiſe pulled down about the ſame time.

In the mean time the breach between the King and Parliament became wider than ever; ſo that they proceeded to draw up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, ſome of which were; *That ſhe had pawned the Crown Jewels in* Holland, *That ſhe had favoured the Rebellion in* Ireland, *That ſhe endeavoured to raiſe a Party in* Scotland

land *againſt the Parliamnnt, and that ſhe had gone in the head of a Popiſh Army in* England; Several other Articles were framed againſt her, upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an impeachment to the Lords, who ſeemed at firſt ſurprized therewith, but they afterward agreed to the Charge.

The Queen had about this time raiſed an indifferent Army of Horſe and Foot, and leaving ſome Horſe and Foot with Sir *Charles Cavendiſh* for defence of *Lincolnſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, ſhe with 3000 Foot, three Companies of Horſe and Foot, ſix Cannons, and two Mortar-peices, met the King at *Edg-hill*, and goes from thence with him to *Oxford*.

Several Encounters happened in the Weſt between Sir *Ralph Hopton* for the King and Sir *G. Cudleige*, then Commander of the Parliaments Forces, where ſometimes one Party was Victorious, and then the other; Coll. *Nath. Fines* Governour of *Briſtol*, about this time diſcover'd a deſign of *Robert Yeomans*, and *George Boucher* to deliver up that City to the Kings Forces, upon which they were Condemned by a Council of War, and hanged *May* 30, notwithſtanding the Kings Letter to the Major and Citizens, and General *Ruthens* to the Governour on their behalf; And ſo ends this Month, famous by the Death of Mr. *John Pym* that active Perſon in the Houſe of Commons.

In *June* 1643. Mr. *Waller* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Haſle*, Mr. *Blinkhorn*, Mr. *White* and others were arraigned at *Guild-Hall London*, they being charged, *For deſigning to ſeize into their Cuſtody the Kings Children, ſome Members of Parliament, the L. Mayor, and Committee of the Militia, all the Cities Outworks, and Forts, the* Tower of London, *and all the Magazines, and then to let in the Kings Forces to ſurprize the City.* Upon this Indictment they were Tryed, and Condemnd, but *Tomkins* and *Challoner* only were hanged.

Some Skirmiſhes paſſed between the E. of *Eſſex* and P. *Rupert*, who ingaging about *Tame* in *Oxford-ſhire*, The Prince routed a body of a Horſe in *Chalgrave-Field*, where Mr. *John Hambden* received his mortal wound; but in the *Weſt* the Parliaments Forces had better ſucceſs, where they

they took in the Towns of *Taunton* and *Bridge-water*: At this time finding the want of a great Seal the Parliament after long debates, Voted *That a new Seal ſhould be made for Confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances*; which was forthwith done, and thereon was Ingraven the Picture of the Houſe of Commons and Members ſitting, and on the other ſide the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; but between the Voting and making this Seal, they paſſed this Order, *That if the L. Keeper* Littleton *upon Summons did not return, with the great Seal within fourteen days, he ſhould loſe his place, and whatſoever ſhould be Sealed therewith by him after that time, ſhould be null and void in Law*; And preſently after, Mr. *Hen. Martin* a Member of Parliament ſeized upon the *Regalia* which were repoſited in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; telling ſome of his Accomplices, *That the time would come wherein there would be no need of Crowns and Scepters.*

July 5. 1643 Sir *Will. Waller* meets with Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s Forces at *Lanſdown* near *Bath*, who though fewer than Sir *William*, yet maintained the fight from two in the afternoon, till one the next morning; and then Sir *Williams* Party forſook the Field; *Hopton* himſelf was hurt, and loſt divers Gentlemen of note, but the Parliaments loſs was more; *Hopton* marches to the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, and *Waller* after him; whereupon the King ſent 1500 Horſe from *Oxford* to *Hopton*'s relief; *Waller* draws off to *Roundway Down*, and there the Fight began in which the Parliamentarians were defeated and fled, leaving the Foot to the mercy of their adverſaries, by whom hundreds of them were ſlain, and more taken, with four Braſs Guns, Ammunition and Baggage, 28 Coulors, and 9 Cornets: *Waller* having thus loſt his Army, poſts to *London* with a few followers for Recruits. This Fight happened *July* 13. 1643.

Some difference ariſing in the *North* between L. *Fairfax* General for the Parliament, and Sir *John Hotham* Governour of *Hull*, who refuſed to ſubmit to the L. *Fairfax*; the Parliament deſigned to diſplace *Hotham*, which he diſcovering by an intercepted Letter, began to project new

new designs, and his Son Capt. *Hotham* being suspected by the Parliament was imprisoned at *Nottingham*, but made his escape, and underhand Treated with the E. of *Newcastle*; Upon which orders were sent for seizing both Father and Son, which was done accordingly, together with his Wife, and the rest of his Children, who were all sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; and some Months after Sir *John* and his Son were brought to Tryal in *Guildhal*, the E. of *Manchester* and others being assigned their Judges; and the Father is charged. *That he had Traiterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy, as appeared by his Words, by his Letters, and by his Actions, and that he held correspondence with the Queen, the E. of* Newcastle, L. Digby, *and others of that Party, and had endeavoured to betray* Hull *to them:* His Son was charged with things of the same nature: upon which they were both Sentenced to be beheaded, which was accordingly Executed, the Son *Jan.* 1. 1644. and the Father, the next day after.

But to return; *July* 4. 1643. P. *Rupert* sits down before *Bristol*, and though Coll. *Fines* had formerly hanged up some Citizens for intending to have delivered up the Town to the *Prince*, yet nevertheless the design took effect, for being at that time very ill provided for resistance (which *P. Rupert* had notice of from his Correspondent within) the Governour was constrained after 3 days Siege to surrender it to him.

Aug 13. the E. of *Lindsey* being freed from his imprisonment wherein he was since *Edge-hill* fight, came to the King at *Oxford*; and soon after *P. Maurice* besieged *Exeter*, flying in Granadoes, and firing part of the Suburbs, upon which a fruitless *Parley* ensued; the next day the *Prince* masters the Great Sconce, and turns the great Guns thereon upon the City, and then the Garrison agreed to yield the Officers only to part with their Swords, and the private Souldiers to march out with Cudgels in their hands. At this time Judge *Berkly* who had been imprisoned by the *Parliament* about *Ship-money*, was fined Twenty Thousand Pound, made incapable of all Offices,

and

and to continue a Priſoner during pleaſure.

The Parliament were now buſied for recruiting Sir *William Wallers* Army, and to incline the *Londoners* to a more chearful compliance. *Pennington* the L. Major was made Lieutenant of the Tower; yet *Waller* was forced to ſtay becauſe *Eſſex* his Army wanted likewiſe Reinforcement; *Eſſex* muſters ten thouſand men at *Hounſlow Heath*, but this would not ſerve for ſo weighty an Affair as the relief of *Gloceſter*, now beſieged by the King, and he muſt therefore make uſe of the *London* Trained Bands.

Gloceſter was the place which ſtopt the current of the Kings ſucceſſes; *Maſſey* was Governour thereof, and had with him two Regiments of Foot, and an 100 Horſe, which with ſome other Recruits made up 1500 men, with forty Barrels of Powder, and a ſlender Artillery; yet they within behaved themſelves like men of Reſolution, and Allarum'd the Beſiegers with frequent Sallies; The King plants his Cannon againſt the Gates which made above 150 ſhot, and the Grannadoes did ſome Execution in the Town, yet nothing abated the Spirits of the People. Whereupon the King prepares for a General Storm, and all was ready, they within being in want, and having but three Barrels of Powder left, when news comes that *Eſſex* was on his march with a powerful Army to raiſe the Seige; whereupon after conſulation had by the King with the General Officers, it was reſolved the Kings Army ſhould draw off, which was done, and all their Hutts were ſet on fire, and *Sept.* 5. 1643. *Eſſex* enters into *Gloceſter*, and having furniſhed the City plentifully with proviſions, went after the King, who at that Seige loſt that opportunity of marching up to *London* (the Parliament having then no conſiderable Army in the Field) which he could never regain.

The War had hither to continued in *Ireland*, and the *Engliſh* Army had commonly ſucceſs againſt the Rebels, but the King now underſtanding the Parliaments contracting with the *Scots* for aid, thought fit to ſtrengthen himſelf by recalling part of his Army there, hither; and com-

commiſſionated the E. of *Ormond* his Lieut. General, to agree on a ceſſation for a year, which was concluded at *Sugeſton*, and *Sept.* 18. 1643. was proclaimed by the Lords, Juſtices and Council at *Dublin*; and ſoon after ſome Forces from thence landed in *Wales*, and took *Hawarden* Caſtle near *Cheſter* for the King.

The E. of *Eſſex* having relieved *Gloceſter*, ſpeeds after the King, and paſſing by *Cirenceſter* left a ſtrong Party there, where *P. Maurice* was expected that night; but inſtead of him comes *Eſſex*, and being miſtaken for the other, enters the Town without any Oppoſition, ſeizes 400 men and 30 Cart loads of Proviſion, and then marches to *Newberry* where the King was before, and had gotten the advantage of the Ground, and planted his Ordnance; Early in the morning, *Sept.* 20. 1643. *Eſſex* views the Kings Army, and in *Newberry* Common draws up his own, and falls to firing, the Kings Army doing the like; That part of the Army which P. *Rupert* charged, being overlay'd, were forced to fall off on the Right hand, where two Great Bodies of Horſe marched down the Hill, and fell in furiouſly upon the Prince; both ſides acting with great valour and fury, and coming to handy-ſtrokes with their Swords.

The *Eſſexians* then wheeling about, charged the L. *Jermins* Regiment, whom they forced to make their eſcape through ſome Bodies of Foot; this Battle cauſed great loſs and bloodſhed on either ſide, but greater on the Kings whoſe other Bodies of Horſe commanded by the Earls of *Carnarvan*, and *Northampton*, notwithſtanding the great courage of their Commanders were overpowered, and the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, Vifcount *Falkland* and many other Officers and Gentlemen ſlain; The *London* Trained Bands and Auxiliaries did the Parliament great ſervice in this Fight; Night coming on, both Armies retired, and next day marched away from each other.

After this, ſeveral Places were Garriſoned for the King by Sir *William Vavaſor*, as *Tewkſbury*, *Shudly* Caſtle and other places in *Gloceſter-ſhire*, and ſoon after *Walſer* again

again ſurpriſeth *Tewkſbury*, but is afterward beaten by *Maurice*, *Maſſey* and *Waller* take *Hereford*, and Sir William Brereton had the Town and Caſtle of *Eccleſhal* delivered upon reaſonable Quarter. An ordinance is now publiſhed by the Parliament to ſeize upon the Kings Revenue; And Sir *William Waller* is made Major General of *Hampſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey* and *Kent*, and marching to *Farnham* beat a Party of the Kings Army, and then took *Aulton* and *Arundel* Caſtle; Collonel *Norton* was routed by *Hopton*; and the Parliament finding the Kings Power increaſe, they Publiſh, *That whoever ſhall aſſiſt the King with Horſe, Arms, Plate or Mony againſt them, are Traytors to the Parliament and ſhall be ſo proceeded againſt.* The King ſummons a Parliament at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 22. 1643. where in the great Hall at *Chriſt-Church* he tells them, *That if he had the leaſt Thought of diſagreeing with the happineſs of this Kingdom, he would not adviſe with ſuch Councillors as they were*; And ſo the upper Schools were aſſigned to the Lords and the *Convocation* Houſe to the Commons. In this Parliament, beſides the Prince, D. of *York*, L. Keeper *Littleton*, Treaſurer *Cottington*, D. of *Richmond*, and Marqueſs of *Hartford* there were 19 Earls and as many Lords, and 117 Knights and Gentlemen, and afterwards 5 Lords and 23 Gentlemen more came to them; The firſt thing they fell upon was to conſider of means for effecting a Peace, to which end a Letter was written to the E. of *Eſſex*, and ſubſigned by all their hands, who retured no anſwer, but ſent to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

Jan. 6. 1643. The *Scots* Army entred *England* by the way of *Newcaſtle*, being 18000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe under Gen. *Levens*; For *aſſiſting the Parliament in purſuance of the Solemn League and Covenant, and declaring the Juſtneſs of their Cauſe, which they profeſs to be Reformation of Religion, Honour of the King, and Peace of the Kingdoms*; *and that the main end of their coming is to rescue the King from his pernicious Councellors*. The Parliament careſſe the *Scots* Army, and impower them to aſſeſs themſelves the Twentieth part of all Malignants Eſtates (as they called them) in the *North*, beſides what other

Counties

Counties were assessed for them. But the Earl of *Newcastle* is marching to give them rougher entertainment, and the L *Fairfax* sent his Son Sir *Thomas* against him.

Sir *John Meldrum* with 700 men besieged *Newark*, and is blockt up by Prince *Rupert*, whereupon they parlyed, and upon Articles were suffered to march away, leaving their Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other Fire-Arms behind them. In the mean time matters are preparing for *Scotland* by *James* Marquess of *Montross* who had formerly sided with the *Covenanters*, but now the King understanding he had really forsaken them, gives him a Commission to be General Governour of *Scotland*, and orders him Forces to go into the heart of that Kingdom, for a diversion to the *Scots*.

In the year 1644. the Twentieth of his Majesties Reign, Sir *William Waller* defeats the L *Hoptons* Forces, and takes *Winchester*, and *Oliver Cromwell* was made Governour of *Ely*; *Beudly* is surprised by Coll. *Fox* for the Parliament, and the Garrisons of *Selby* and *Heintough* are taken by the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, Prince *Rupert* raiseth the siege at *Latham* House. The King at this time in the presence of the Peers at *Oxford* received the Sacrament at *Christs Church* at the hands of Bishop *Usher*, where he used these solemn Protestations:

My Lords, *I spy here many resolved Protestants who may declare to the world the Resolution I do now make; I have to the utmost of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver, and may I so receive Comfort by the Blessed Sacrament, I do intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of* Queen Elizabeth, *without any connivance at Popery; I bless God that in the midst of these publick Distractions I have still liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be my Damnation if my heart do not joyn with my lips in this* Protestati-

The Parliament at *Westminster* Voted it *Treason for any Member, or Members of either House to desert them, and to go to the King, and they never to be received again.* The King marcheth

marched out of *Oxford*, and is followed by *Eſſex* and *Waller*, he defeats *Waller* at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and *Eſſex* is blockt up by the Kings Forces in *Cornwall*; and *July* 4th the King ſends ſeveral Letters to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace; *Sept.* 12. the Parliament at *Oxford* Aſſemble again, but falling into Factions and Diviſions the King in *March* following Diſſolves them.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* was beſieged in *York* about two months, to whoſe relief Prince *Rupert* advanceth Northward with a great Power of Horſe and Foot, upon whoſe approach to the City the Beſiegers drew off, and thoſe within ſally out upon their Rear; the E. of *Newcaſtle* being thus relieved, joins with P. *Rupert* reſolving to follow the Parliamentarians, and give them Battle which accordingly they did upon a plain called *Marſton Moor*, where about 9000 men were ſlain, for the Royaliſts having near routed the Parliaments Army, purſued the Chace ſo far, that the Victory was ſnatcht out of their hands, and the Parliament obtained an entire Victory after 3 hours Fight reſolutely maintained on both ſides. After which *York* was delivered up to the Parliament and they ſoon became Maſters of all the *North*, and *Levens* the *Scotch* General takes *Newcaſtle*; after this Battle which was the greateſt both for the fierceneſs of it, and the number of Souldiers, on both ſides, P. *Rupert* goes to *Lancaſhire*, but the E. of *Newcaſtle* lately made Marqueſs, with his two Sons, and his Brother Sir Charles *Cavendiſh*, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Cranworth*, the Biſhop of *Londerry*, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Coll. *Carnaby*; Col. Bard Col. *Mouſon*, Sir *William Vavaſor*, Sir *Francis Mackworth* with about eighty other perſons, upon ſome diſcontent refuſed to engage any further in the Kings Cauſe, and went over to *Hamburgh*.

New Levies are now made by the Parliament, and 3 Attempts were made by the Parliamentarians upon *Dennington-Caſtle*, but in vain; The Queen going from *Oxford* to *Exeter* was there delivered of a Daughter, *June* 16. 1644. who was called *Henritta Maria*, and

ward went from thence to *Pendennis Caſtle* in *Cornwal* where ſhe embarqued for *France*, and did not return again to *England*, till His preſent Majeſties Happy Reſtoration in 1660. *Banbury* Caſtle is relieved by Sir *William Compton*, having been beſieged about 11 weeks by the Parliaments Forces; Coll. *Myn* is defeated by *Maſſey* near *Gloceſter*, and himſelf ſlain, and about 170 Officers and Souldiers taken Priſoners; Prince *Rupert* ſending 500 Horſe and Foot to fortifie *Beachly*, in order to his going to *Aſhferry*, they are routed by *Maſſey*, who ſoon after takes *Monmouth* Town.

Newberry ſeemed to be a place deſtined for Martial exploits, for *October* 27. another great Battle was fought there, between the Kings party and the Parliaments, under *Eſſex*, *Waller* and *Mancheſter*, wherein the *Royaliſts* were worſted, and between 4 and 5000 men ſlain on both ſides; *Nov.* 19. *Monmouth* is retaken by the K. Forces; *Decemb.* 23. Sir *Alex. Carew*, was beheaded for endeavouring to deliver up the Iſland of *Plymouth* to the Kings Forces.

Two principle *Iriſh* Rebels, the L. *Macguire* and *Macmahon* had been ſent from *Ireland*, and impriſoned in the *Tower*, from whence they made their eſcape, but being retaken, and Tryed, were found guilty of High Treaſon, and were both Drawn, Hanged and Quartered at *Tyburn*, though *Macguire* pleaded his priviledge to the Lords, as a Peer of *Ireland*.

Archbiſhop *Laud* having been accuſed by the Parliament in 1640. as the framer of the Cannons in Convocation; and other Delinquencies, and the *Scots* joining him and the E. of *Strafford* in their Grand Accuſation, charging him for obtruding the *Common Prayer Book*, and *Canons and Conſtitutions Eccleſiaſtical* upon their Nation, and for adviſing the King to diſſolve the laſt Parliament, and other ſuch matters, upon which he was firſt committed to the black Rod, and 10 weeks after Voted Guilty of *High Treaſon*, and ſent to the *Tower*, where he continued 3 years; his Charge was, *endeavouring the ſubverſion*, 1. *Of the Laws*, 2. *Of Religion*. 3. *Of the Priviledges of Parliament*; And after many times attending on the Houſe

Jan. 4. 1644. they passed their *Ordinance of Parliament, That he should be drawn, hang'd and quartered*; but upon his Petition, they voted him to be beheaded, which he suffered *Jan.* 10. after.

Jan. 30. 1644. a Treaty was begun at *Uxbridge* between the King and Parliament; the Commissioners for the King were these, the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, the Marques of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Kingston* and *Chichester*, the Lords *Capel*, *Seymour*, *Hatton*, and *Culpepper*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Richard Lane*, Sir *Thomas Grandure*, Sir *Orland* Bridgman, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, and Dr. *Stewart*; Those for the Parliament of *England* and *Scotland* (for now they were joyned in all publick Affairs) were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembrook*, *Salisbury* and *Denbigh*, Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Mr. *Crew*, Mr *Whitlock*, Mr. St. *Johns*, Mr. *Prideux*, Lord *Lowden*, Sir *Charles Erskin*, Mr. *Dondas*, Mr. *Barkely*, and Mr. *Henderson*; The Commissioners on both sides being met, the things to be Treated of were 1. *Religion.* 2. The *Militia*, 3. *Ireland*; but first the Kings Commissioners gave in this Paper concerning Religion.

First, That Freedom be left to all Persons of what opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all the Penalties, the Laws and Customs which enjoyn those penalties, be suspended; ... *That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, nor Ordination without the consent and Counsel of the Presbyters who shall be chosen out of the Clergy of each Diocess, out of the learnedst, and gravest Ministers of that Diocess.* 3. *That the Bishop keep his constant residence in his Diocess except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion. And that if he be not hindred by the Infirmity of old Age or sickness, he preach every* Sunday *in some Church of his Diocess.* 4. *That the Ordination of Ministers shall be always in a publick, and solemn manner, and very strict Rules observed concerning the sufficiency, and other qualifications of those men, who shall not yet be received into Holy Orders without the Consent and Approbation of the* Presbyters, *or the Major part of them.*

5. *That*

5. That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters out of the Impropriations according to the value of the several Parishes. 6. That no man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicarages with cure of Souls. 7. That toward the setling of the Publick peace, an hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands. 8. That the Jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, Decimals, Matrimonials, be setled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament, And likewise that Acts be passed for Regulating Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunication, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction as shall be agreed upon by the King and Parliament; And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners will very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The Paper of the Parliaments Commissioners concerning Religion, was, That the Bill be passed for abolishing, and taking away of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. That the Ordinances concerning the Calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines be confirmed by Act of Parliament; That the Directory for Publick Worship already passed both Houses; and the Propositions concerning Church Government, annexed and passed, both Houses, be enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity; That His Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that it be enjoyned to be taken by others; To which was annexed the following Paper; That the Ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for Edification is by the respective bounds of their dwelling; That the Minister and Church-Officers in each Congregation shall join in the Government of the Church as it shall be established by Parliament: That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government; That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies to be established by Parliament; That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and

National Assemblies; which papers took up three dayes of the Treaty in dispute; the next 3 dayes were ordered for the *Militia*; and the Parliaments Propositions concerning it were as followeth; *We desire that the Subjects of* England *may be armed, trained, and disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit*; *The like for* Scotland *as the Parliament there shall think fit*; *That an Act for settling the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and Monies thereto for maintenance, may be as the* Parliament *shall think fit*; *The like for* Scotland; *That there be an Act for settling all Forces by Sea and Land, and Commissioners to be named by the* Parliament, *and as both Kingdoms shall confide in, and to suppress all Powers and Forces contrary thereunto, and to Act as they shall be directed by* Parliament; *So for the Kingdom of* Scot. *That the* Militia *of the City of* Lon. *and of the Parishes within* Lon. *& the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council; That the Tower of* London *may be in the Government of the City and cheif Officers, those to be nominated and removed by the Common Council*; *That the Citizens and Forces of* London *may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and that the Example in these distracted times be no President for the Future.*

Upon *February* 18. began the Articles about *Ireland*, wherein the Parliament desire, *That an Act be passed to make void the cessation of* Ireland *and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of* Parliament, *and to settle the Prosecution of the War of* Ireland, *in the* Parliament, *to be managed by the joint advice of both Kingdoms, and His Majesty to assist, and to do no Act to molest or discountenance them therein*; The Kings Commissioners would not consent to the Parliaments Propositions in any of the three points, *Religion, Militia* or *Ireland*, but motioned, *That if the Articles proposed by them did not give satisfaction, that then so great an Alteration as a Total Abolishment of a Government established by Law might be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, that the King may be present with the Parliament, and a National Synod may be called to consider and determine of so important a business. 2. For the* Militia, *they would not condescend no farther, than that the persons trusted with the Militia*

be nominated between them, or that an equal number, the one half by the King, and the other by the Parliament *should be choſen, and this to be but for 3 years.* 3. *As to* Ireland *they juſtified the Kings proceedings, and would not allow of any thing that ſhould make againſt the Ceſſation*; And ſo the Treaty ended without any thing effected of what the poor people longed for; the Commiſſioners on both ſides being ſo much bounded to their Superiors; yet the King was much taxed) ſaid the Author of the *Continuation of Sir* R. Baker, *p.* 548.) by thoſe who were not ſlick to find out occaſions of Cavils againſt him about this Treaty, eſpecially for diſcovering ſo much favour and good will to the *Iriſh*, as was diſcovered in that Article, and alſo for his Tranſacting with them, and writing two Letters to the L. Deputy to haſten the Peace with them, and promiſing them that the Penal Statures againſt *Roman* Catholicks ſhould not be put in Execution, when the Peace was made, provided they continued in due obedience; and further, when they gave him that aſſiſtance which they promiſed for his *Engliſh* occaſions, that then he would conſent to the repeal of them all by a Law, except thoſe againſt Appeals to *Rome* and *Premunire*; nay further it is laid to his charge as a matter of an high nature, that he had written to the Lieutenant a third Letter for haſtning the Peace, which rather than miſs, he ſhould promiſe to joyn with them againſt the *Scots*, and the Lord *Inchequin*; Theſe things the Parliament did much aggravate againſt him, and alſo took ſuch care for accouring their Friends againſt the Rebels, that they were never able to ſend over the promiſed ſupplies to the King.

At this time the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* held out his houſe at *Baſing* for the King; to reduce which Sir *William Waller* with his new Levies advances, and ſtorms it twice in nine days, but was beaten off, and forced to retreat to *Farnham*; Collonel *Norton* ſucceeds in that ſervice, with whom joyn Col. *Morley*, and Sir *Richard Onſlow*, who fall furiouſly to the work, but with greater hurt to themſelves, ſhortly after Coll. *Witherhead* comes to

them with his Regiment, the Beſiegers fall to battering while neceſſaries fail within: *Norton* ſends his ſummons, which contemned by the Marqueſs; the Beſieged ſally out, and do much execution; and now comes Sir *William Waller* again, and with ſome Troops faced the Houſe, on whom the Beſieged plaid from their works; The Marqueſs ſends to *Oxford* for relief, which is promiſed: In the mean time *Waller* again departs, and Colonel *Gage* is ſent from *Oxford* with a Regiment of bold Blades, who find Col. *Norton* ready to receive them on *Chinham Down*. *Gage* makes his Approach, appearing firſt on an Hill near the High-way which leads to *Andover*, whereupon *Norton* charges with great Courage, and breaks through the Others Horſe, who having a reſcue of Musketeers, with more than ordinary valour forced *Norton* to retreat as far as the Church, and ſo through *Baſingſtoke*, the ſame time the Beſieged ſallying out at ſeveral places brought in many Priſoners; The relief which *Gage* brought in conſiſted of many Horſeload of Powder and Match, a drove of Cattel, beſide Powder from *Baſingſtoke*. *November* 15. the Beſiegers after 24 weeks labour in vain raiſe the Siege having loſt about a Thouſand men one way or other during their ſtay before that Houſe; nor had the Kings Forces any better ſucceſs in their long Sieges before *Plymouth*, *Lyme*, *and Taunton* in the *Weſt*, which three places coſt them the lives of ſome Thouſands of their Souldiers, and yet not taken at laſt.

April 19. 1644. The E. of *Montroſs* entred *Scotland*, and ſeized *Dumfrize*, expecting the aſſiſtance of ſome *Iriſh* to be ſent him by the Earl of *Antrim*, who not coming according to promiſe, he was fain to retire into *England*, and from thence ſends the L. *Ogilby*, and Sir *Will. Rollick* diſguiſed into the heart of *Scotland*, who brought back a comfortable Tydings of the great power and ſtrength of the *Covenanters*; whereupon he ſends *Ogilby* to the King for more men, or at leaſt Arms from beyond Seas, but theſe Meſſengers were ſurprized, and impriſoned by the *Covenanters*. *Montroſs* with a ſmall retinue re-enters *Scotland*, and comes to his Coſen *Patrick Graham*, where he lies cloſe, until inſtead of Ten Thouſand promiſed,

Alexander Macdonal brings over into the North of *Scotland* an Hundred and Ten *Irish* from *Antrim*, with whom *Montroſs* meets in *Athol* where eight hundred Countrymen join with him; with theſe and ſome other aſſiſtance he meets with the Covenanters near *Perth*, under the Earl of *Tulliban*, and ſome other Lords with ſix thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe ready to to fight; *Sept.* 1. the Lord *Drummond* comes out with a Forlorn hope, and at the firſt onſet is routed back to the main body, and ſo *Montroſs* with a ſhout lets looſe his whole Forces upon them, and puts them to flight with the ſlaughter of Two Thouſand and many Priſoners, and the City of *Perth* taken. After which Victory, divers other Lords and Gentlemen come in to him, with whom he ſeeks out the *Covenanters*, who lay at *Aberdeen* with an Army of Two Thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe commanded by the L. *Burleigh*, expecting the Conjunction of the E. of *Argile* and his Forces; which *Montroſs* means to prevent by fighting them; *Montroſs* had but 44 Horſe, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, all reſolute men, who did their work with much Courage, routing and purſuing their Enemies to the Gates of *Dundee*; after which *Montroſs* enters *Aberdeen*; but news comes poſt that the Earls of *Argile* and *Lothian* were at hand with a ſtrong body of Horſe, which *Montroſs* unable to encounter retires to *Highland* Mountains, and goes to *Straghogey* to try if he could perſuade the *Gordons* to engage on his ſide; but they were hindred by the E. of *Huntley* their Chief, who though a Royaliſt himſelf, yet out of meer envy to *Montroſs*, did more obſtruct the Kings buſineſs than the *Covenanters* themſelves; here *Montroſs* ſculkt, but *Argile* and *Lothian* follow him, and near *Fary* Caſtle they skirmiſh together, and the *Montroſſians* having the advantage of an Hill, put their Enemies to a diſorderly retreat; after which they both Treat, during which ſome of *Montroſſes* followers are dealt with to betray him; wherefore to ſecure himſelf, he marcheth away to *Badenah*, many of his men by *Argiles* means falling off from him, and making no ſtay there, through unknown byways comes to *Dunkeldon*, and frightens *Argile* out of

thoſe

thoſe parts; *Macdonel* was imployed by *Montroſs* to the *Mack Renolds*, with whom he uſed ſuch perſwaſions tha five Hundred of them with their Chief followed him t the Earl, and *Patrick Graham* brings ſome recruits fro *Athol*; with theſe *Montroſs* marches into the County o *Argile*, where that Earl was liſting Souldiers, but *Montro* coming frightens him away, and he Victoriouſly divide his Army into threes Brigades, himſelf leading one, *Mack donel* another, and *Macrenbold* a Third, and with Fire an Sword ruins and deſtroys all, and ſo departs to *Loga* where five Thouſand Horſe and Foot commanded by th Earl of *Seaſort* were ready to oppoſe him, and the Earl *Argile* was not far off with Three Thouſand Foot; t prevent their joyning he reſolves to fall upon *Argi* which he does, and after a ſhort Fight, in which fifte hundred were ſlain, put him to the rout, with ſuch terr that they ran 9 miles outright; on *Montroſſes* party we but few killed, though many hurt, of whom Sir *Tho Ogilby* dyed after of his wounds.

In *England* the Kings Forces prevail in *Gloceſter-ſh* and take *Rowden* Houſe, after ſtill reſiſtance made b the Collonels *Devereux and Stephens*, and Collonel *Hopto* having raiſed 60 Horſe and 40 Foot for the Parliamen is ſurprized and carried Priſoner with all his Men in *Ludbury* in *Herefordſhire*; But the *Parliamentarians* m with Sir *John Winter* and routed him, and another Par of theirs ſurprized *Shrewsbury*; Prince *Rupert*, P. *Ma rice*, the Lord *Haſtings*, *Ashly*, *Langdal*, and *Gerrard* wi the greateſt part of the Kings Forces went into *Wales* raiſe more Souldiers and the King by his Agents abro ſollicites for Forreign Princes aid, and the Queen Trea with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had an indifferent Arm about *Collen*, and had near finiſhed her buſineſs, wh Card. *Mazarine* ſpoils all, and finds other work for th Duke; The K. ſends alſo to *Denmark*, but that King bei newly engaged in ſome differences with the *Swede*, H Majeſty was forced to make the beſt proviſion he cou at home to engage againſt the *New Model* deſigned by t Parliament.

And thus ends the year 1644. At the beginning of th ne

next the Parliament were busied about framing an Ordinance for calling the Members of both Houses from all publick Imployments, having been formerly discontented with their General the Earl of *Essex*, whom they suspected as careless or discontented, because after the second Battle of *Newberry*, he suffered the King to march away without any molestation, and after to relieve *Donnington* Castle, and besides that he had quitted *Newberry*, and let it fall into the Kings hands, *&c.* This was at last past with exceptions of *Cromwell* and a few others, and was called, *The Self denying Ordinance*; The effect whereof was; *That all and every the Members of either House shall be discharged at the end of* 40 *days after the passing this Ordinance of all their Command Military or* Civil conferred by *Parliament since* November 20. 1640. *That all other Governours and Commanders (not Members) by Land or Sea shall continue in their Offices, wherein they were intrusted.* March 30. 1644. *Provided and excepted, that Lieutenants, and their Deputies in several Counties, Cities and Places, or of any* Custos Rotulorum, *or Justices of Peace, or Stewards, or any Commissioners of* Oyer *and* Terminer *or Goal delivery; as also that those Members of either House who had Offices by Grant from his Majesty before the Parliament, and were by him displaced before the sitting of the Parliament, and have since by the Parliament been restored, shall not be discharged from their said Offices or profits thereof, but shall enjoy the same.*

The Parliament being thus resolved to Model their Army, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denbigh* surrender their Commissions in the House of Lords, desiring the Souldiers Arrears may be discharged, upon which the Commons Vote Ten Thousand pound a year to be paid to the Earl of *Essex* out of the Delinquents Estates for his Service and Losses; and the Earl of *Warwick* yields up his Commission of Admiral at Sea, which Offices are presently intrusted with Commissioners; The Parliament after some jarring of both Houses about it, Elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, and had accordingly sent for him out of the North; The other chief Officers of this *New Model* were,

Philip Skippon Major General of the whole Army, *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant General of the Horſe, *Henry Ireton* Commiſſary General of the Horſe; The Collonels of Foot were Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, *Hammond*, *Harley*, *Montague*, *Loyd*, *Pickering*, *Holbourn*, *Crafood*, *Berkley*, *Albridge*, *Ingoldsby*, *Rainsborough*, *Welden*, for the Horſe were Collonels *Butler*, *Sheffeild*, *Fleetwood*, *Roſſiter*, *Rich*, *Whaley*, *Graves*, *Sydney*, *Middleton*, *Vermuden*, *Leviſair*; and Sir *Robert Pye*, and *John Okey* were Collonels of the Dragoons; After this unhappy Model, the Kings affairs in all places began fatally to decline.

The Parliamentarians having ſurpriſed *Shrewsbery*, Collonel *Mitten* receives publick Thanks in the Houſe of Commons for that ſervice, which was very conſiderable as being the Kings chiefeſt Garriſon, wherein were taken 8 Knights and Baronets, 40 Collonels, Majors, Captains, and others of Quality, beſides common Men; 15 pieces of Ordnance, many hundred Arms, divers Barrels of powder, P. *Maurice*'s Magazen, and all this without any conſiderable damage on their ſide. About this time Sir M. *Langdale* with 2000 Horſe and Foot from *Oxford* beats the *Lincolnſhire* Horſe, relieves *Newark*, *Belvey*, and *Aſton de la Zouth* with proviſions, and marcheth Northward to *Pontefract*, and notwithſtanding the Lord *Fairfax* his Power, relieveth the Caſtle alſo; from hence he returns to *Newark*, ſo to *Litchfield*, then to the Forreſt of *Dean*, and beats off Collonel *Dean* from lying before *Lydney*. The King at *Oxford* takes care to furniſh his Garriſons and fit his Army for the Field: The E. of *Northampton* routs the Parliaments *Northampton* Horſe; but Major General *Brown*, Governour of *Abingdon* for the Parliament, ſends out ſeveral Parties, who return with ſucceſs. About this time the Houſe of Lords make the E. of *Northumberland* and his Counteſs, Governour, and Governeſs of the Kings Children at *White-Hall*.

The *New model* being now compleated Sir *Tho. Fairfax* ſets forth for *Windſor*, where he applies himſelf to the forming of his new Army, wherein M. G. *Skippon* was ſo active, that the Parliament ſent him a Letter of Thanks for

for that and all his former ſervices: Hither comes Lt. General *Cromwell*, whom, after ſome Salutations paſt, the General ordered to march toward *Oxford* with a Brigade of Eleven Hundred Horſe and Dragoons to intercept a Convoy of 2000 Horſe, which Prince *Rupert* had ſent from *Worceſter* to fetch off the King with his Train of Artillery, and ſome Foot, ſo to imbody and take the Field; At *Iſlip-Bridge*, *Cromwel* falls upon them, and routs them, takes between 4 and 500 Horſe, and 200 Priſoners, with the Queens Standard, the reſt betook themſelves to *Blechinton*-Houſe, whither *Cromwell* purſues them, and ſends a ſharp Summons to the Governour, who, doubting of Relief from *Oxford*, thinking that the Enemy had a conſiderable ſtrength of Foot, and overſwayed by the puling Tears of ſome Ladies, got thither to viſit his Wife, ſurrendred the Houſe with all the Arms and Ammunition, which were ſent to *Alisbury*, and the Houſe demoliſhed, for which the Governour, Colonel *Windebank* is ſhot to death at *Oxford*, *Cromwel* improves his ſucceſs, and falls upon a party of 300 Foot, about *Banton Buſh*, whom he defeats, and takes them almoſt all Priſoners, with their Arms and Ammunition, and ſends them with a Convoy to *Abington*, and Colonel *Fines* beats another party of Horſe, taking 150 Horſe, 3 Colours, and 50 Arms; Sir *John Winter* being relieved by *Langdale*, and obtaining from P. *Rupert* 2000 Horſe, and 1500 Foot, made ſuch a ſtir, as drew all the *Glocester* Forces upon him, upon which the Prince, *April* 22. marches all night to his aſſiſtance, and finds *Maſſey* before *Lidbury*, to whom he gives a ſudden Alarm; *Maſſey* being thus put to it, drew up, and fought the Horſe, entertaining the Royaliſts with hot charges whilſt the Foot might get off; but being overpowered was fain to give way, and the Royaliſts falling on the Foot, did much execution upon them: *Maſſeys* Horſe was ſhot dead under him by P. *Rupert*, and Major *Backhouſe* received his mortal wound, divers were ſlain, and the reſt by flight eſcaped

Prince *Rupert* marches from thence with about 6000 Horſe

Horſe and Foot, towards *Ludlow*, and ſo to *Shrewsbury*, draining the Garriſons, and taking to him the leſſer Brigades; and ſo he and his Brother *Maurice*, aſſiſted with *Gorings* Horſe and Dragoons, fetched off the King from *Oxford*, who, with a numerous Army, advanceth toward the Seige of *Cheſter*; General *Fairfax*'s Army being now fully compleated, he was ordered cloſely to beſiege *Oxford*, as being the Kings chief Garriſons, where moſt of his Artillery lay; *Cromwell* and *Brown* being recalled from following the King, to aſſiſt the General therein; *May* 12. Col. *Welden* comes to relieve *Taunton*, of which the Royaliſts being informed, they reſolved to give one furious Aſſault, and if it ſucceeded not, to rife from the Seige and be gone, which not taking effect, they preſently marched away, and Collonel *Welden* enters the Town, and finds it almoſt ruined by Fire, two long ſtreets of fair Buildings being burnt to the ground; and thus was *Taunton* relieved, after it had endured a hard Siege. About this time M. G. *Maſſey* takes in *Eversham* by ſtorm, where Col. *Will. Leg* was Governour, who was taken priſoner, with 20 Officers, 500 Foot, and 120 Horſe, and all the Arms and Ammunition; *Fairfax* lying before *Oxford*, ſent out a party of Horſe and Foot, under Col. *Rainsborough*, to ſummon *Gaunt*-Houſe; the Governour whereof, though at firſt he anſwered, *he lik'd not* Windebank *Law*, yet ſeeing *Rainsborough* ready to ſtorm it, he ſurrenders upon Quarter.

The King with his Army marching toward *Cheſter*, carried ſuch a terrour with him, that made Sir *William Brereton* quit the Seige, and ſo his work being done, he wheels about and ſits down before *Leiceſter*, ſending a ſummons to the Town, who deſire reſpite till next morning; the Trumpeter returning, a Drum was ſent, requiring an Anſwer within a Quarter of an Hour, which time while they within ſpend in Debate, the Kings Cannons play upon the Town from the Battery, and all are commanded to their charge in order to a Storm; The Conteſt continued a day and a night, and the Town was ſtormed at 6 or 7 places, and *May* 31. was entred; the Com-

Committe-Men, with the Governour, Col. *Gray* and *Hackey* were taken Priſoners, much Ammunition, and the plunder of the Town ſent to the Kings Garriſons thereabouts, thoſe that eſcaped fled to *Rockingham* Caſtle, and from thence the King Triumphant marches toward *Northampton*, and faces that Town; In the Weſt *Goring*, *Hopton* and *Greenwil* united their Forces, and fall upon *Weldens* Brigade, whom they forced to retire to *Taunton* in great diſorder, and were there ſomewhat ſtreightned, *Fairfax* was now ordered to riſe before *Oxford*, and *Cromwell* marched into the aſſociated Counties, to prevent the Kings Irruptions into them, and Col. *Vermudin* was to join with the *Scots* with a party of 2500 Horſe and Foot, in caſe the King ſhould advance *Northward*. *June* 5. Their Army had a general Randezvouz at *Great Brickhill*, where they had news the King was about *Daventry*; thereupon it was reſolved to give him Battle, to which end *Cromwell* is ſent for, with 600 Horſe and Dragoons; *Vermuden* likewiſe returns, and *Fairfax* ſends Poſt for Sir *John Gell*, Col. *Roſſiter*, and the Governours of *Coventry*, *Warwick*, *Northampton*, and *Nottingham*, to march with all ſpeed with their Forces to the General, becauſe there was like to be a ſpeedy Engagement; The Kings Forces lay ſtill about *Daventry* and *Burrough-hill*, which being a place of great advantage, it was thought he had choſen it to fight upon; but his Deſign was (having relieved *Oxford* with ſtore of Cattle and Sheep) to march for the relief of *Pontefract*, and *Scarburrough*; but *Fairfax* advanceth to *Gilborough*, within 4 Miles of *Northampton*, and 5 of *Burrough-hill*; and both Armies lying nigh each other, the *Fairfaxians* alarm the *Royaliſts*, and take ſome Priſoners, the King being then abroad. *June* 13. The King drew off from *Burrough-hill* to *Harborough*, deſigning for *Pontefract*, thinking if he were followed, it would be more advantage to fight further Northward; *Fairfax* ſends out *Ireton* with a flying party of Horſe, who fall upon a party of the Kings Reer, quartered in *Naſeby* Town, takes many Priſoners, ſome of the Prince's Life-guard, and *Langdale's* Brigade,

and

and gives such an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at Midnight leaves his own Quarters, and for security hastens to *Harborough*, where the Van of his Army was quartered, raises P. *Rupert*, and calls a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battel, and because *Fairfax* had been so forward, they would no longer stay for him but seek him out; *Fairfax* was come from *Gilborough* to *Gilling*, and from thence to *Naseby*, where both Armies drawn up in Batalia faced each other.

Saturday, *June* 14. was fought that unfortune Battel which proved so fatal to the King and his Cause; His Majesty commanded the Main Body, P. *Rupert*, and P. *Maurice* the Right Wings; Sir *Marmaduke Landale* the Left, the E. of *Lindsey*, and the L. *Astley* the Right Hand Reserves, the L. *Bards*, and Sir *G. Liste* the left: Of the Parliaments Army *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwell* the Right Wing, with whom was Coll. *Rossiter*, who came with his Forces but a little before the Fight, and *Ireton* had the Left; the Reserves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*, P. *Rupert* charged the Parliaments left Wing, commanded by *Ireton*, who made a notable Resistance, but at last, was forced to give ground, *Ireton* himself being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with and Halbert, his Horse shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner; for a while *Rupert* follows the Chase almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his return summoned the Train of Baggage and Provisions, who made no other Answer but with their Firelocks; but in the mean time *Cromwell* chargeth furiously on the Kings Left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them and their Reserve, during which the main Bodies had charged with incredible fierceness, often retreating, and often rallying, falling in together with the But ends of their Musquets, and coming to Handy-blows with their Swords; but *Fairfax*'s Foot coming up seasonably to the Horse, and *Cromwell* coming in with his victorious Right Wing, they all charged together upon the King

Kings main Army, who, unable to endure any longer, retired out of the Field toward *Leiceſter*, and P. *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his too eager purſuit, ſeeing the day loſt, accompanied them in their Flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the *Parliamentarians*, who purſued them within 2 miles of *Leiceſter*, and the King finding the purſuit ſo hot, leaves the Town, and haſtes to *Litchfield*: The Battle was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very couragious and numerous, and not 500 odds: fought in a large fallow field on the North-Weſt ſide of *Naſeby*, about a Mile broad, which ground was wholly taken up: On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain above a 1000 Officers and private Souldiers, M. *G. Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the Battle) fought ſtoutly that day, and though he was ſo ſorely wounded in the beginning of the Fight, and the General deſired him to go off the field, he anſwered, *he would not ſtir ſo long as a man could ſtand*; *Ireton* wat dangerouſly hurt and taken Priſoner for a while, after he had done his part; but in the confuſion of the Fight got looſe again, and ſaw the Victory atchieved: The General and Lieutenant General performed their part with ſufficient Reſolution, (had their Cauſe been as good) and by their own examples infuſed valour into their followers; ſo likewiſe did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded.

On the other ſide the King ſhewed himſelf that day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and himſelf in Perſon rallying them to hot Encounters; the E. of *Lindſey*. L. *Aſhly*, Col. *Raſtol*, and others, were wounded, 20 Collonels, Knights and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers ſlain; but much more was the damage the King ſuſtained by what was taken, that is, 6 Collonels, 8 Lieutenants Collonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns, with divers other inferior Officers, 4500 common Souldiers, and many Women; 13 of the Kings Houſhold Servants, 4 of his Footmen, 12 peices of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels

Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage with ſtore of rich Pillage, three thouſand Horſes, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers which not without indecency were after publiſhed by the Parliament; Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* haſtned away the ſame night to *Newark*; The next day the General ſent up Collonel *Fines* with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the Fight; and with this comes News of ſeveral other ſucceſſes, as the gaining of *Houghton* Garriſon near *Grantham*, and Sir *William Brereton* beating a Party of the Kings Forces in *Cheſhire*, and taking 150 Priſoners; and 400 Priſoners taken in fight by a party from *Shrewsbury*, and the taking Major *Fenwick*, and divers others by Captain *Stone*; Sir *John Gell* marching with 2000 Horſe, in his way took 90 Priſoners of the Kings ſcattered Horſe, and ſome of *Newark* Garriſon, and then joining with *Fairfax*, they ſate down before *Leiceſter*, which after ſeveral Aſſaults was ſurrendred by the Lord *Haſtings* Governour, upon Honourable Terms; in it were 14 pieces of Ordnance, 30 Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horſe, 50 Barrels of Powder, and other Ammunition proportionable; And *June* 28. Sir *Tho. Glenham* after a long Siege deſpairing of ſuccour yields up *Carliſle* to the Parliament. But however *Taunton* was yet in a low condition, and therefore *Fairfax* was ordered thither, who by the way meets with a multitude of ruſtical People called *Clubmen*, declaring themſelves Newters, and deſired ſafe Paſſage for their Commiſſioners to go both to the King and Parliament, to which the General returned a Civil anſwer, but that not ſatisfying them, *Fairfax* having joyned with *Maſſey*, ſoon frighted them into more moderation, ſo that the Army paſſed quietly on their Journey.

General *Goring* hearing of the Approach of *Fairfax*, drew off from *Taunton*, having received conſiderable loſs from Collonel *Robert Blake* the Governour, and ſoon after *Fairfax* following *Goring*, puts the *Royaliſts* to a diſorderly retreat, and preſſing fiercely upon them, purſues them almoſt to *Bridgewater*, and in *Sutton Field* near *Langport*

July

July 10. there was a ſharp Ingagement, in which there was not much odds in the number of the ſlain, they being in all judged to be about 1100. of the Kings Party, there were Fourteen hundred Priſoners taken, about Twelve Hundred Horſe, Coll. *Feningham*, Coll. *Slingsby*, divers Officers of Quality, and 30 Priſoners; Soon after Sir *Tho. Fairfax* ſits down before *Bridgwater*, and after Summons, he aſſaulted the Town very deſperately, winning the lower part thereof, and then ſends a ſecond ſummons, telling them, *That their Denyal wrought no other Thoughts of Compaſſion in him, but only to Women and Children, who might ſuffer by the Governours Obſtinacy, and ſo divers Ladies, Gentlewomen, and Children came out of the Town*; And then the General being better provided with Materials for his work, gave the ſecond Aſſault, ſome ſtormed, others fired with Granado's, and flugs of hot Iron, and the wind ſerving their turn, it wrought ſuch effect, that the Governour Coll. *Windham* moved therewith, ſurrendred the Town upon condition only of fair Quarter, and the Town to be preſerved from Plunder; This was done *July* 23. 1645. there being a Thouſand Officers and Souldiers Priſoners, 44 Barrels of Powder, 1500 Arms, 44 Pieces of Ordnance, and 400 weight of Match. In the North, *Pomfret* Caſtle, and *Scarborough* were taken by the Parliaments Forces, and ſoon after the Town of *Bath* was ſurrendred to Coll *Okey*; In the mean time the Clubmen continued their Meetings, and Collonel *Fleetwood* ſeized 50 of the Ringleaders at *Shaftsbury*, yet this would not reduce them, they being ſtill about four thouſand, whereupon *Cromwell* endeavours by Parley to reduce them to reaſon; which not ſucceeding, he falls upon them, kills ſome, diſperſeth the reſt, and takes 400 Priſoners, which defeat utterly quelled them.

About this time the King marching up and down *Wales* to raiſe Supplies, he comes thence to *Litchfield*, and by the way fights a Party of *Scotch* Horſe and Dragoons, then marches to *Aſhburn*, beats Sir *John Gell*, and carries ſome priſoners with him to *Welbeck* houſe, and ſo ran-

gin

ging up and down with a flying Army, takes *Huntingt.* *Cambridge*, and St. *Ives*, which laſt place he fined 500 Pounds; thence he went to *Oweburn*, and ſo to *Oxford* *Auguſt* 28. where he ſtaid not long, but advanced to *Ludlow* earneſtly intent upon the relief of *Cheſter* then cloſe beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*; Mr. *G. Poynes* with a Party of Horſe was appointed to attend the King's Motion, and followed him ſo cloſe, that on *Routon Heath* 2 miles off *Cheſter* they came to a Fight, where *Poynes* was forced to give ground, and had been utterly overthrown if Coll. *Jones* had not come in with a new ſupply from *Brereton*, which incouraged *Poyns* to rally, and ſo the King being beſet both Rear and Front, forſook the Field, and betook himſelf to *Cheſter*, which finding much weakned by Battery, and the Aſſailants ready to ſtorm he went from thence to *Wales*. *Fairfax* was now before *Sherburn* Caſtle, and the Governour Sir *Lewis Dives* not hearkning to any ſummons, endured a furious ſtorm, and after an extream cruel Fight, and much bloodſhed on both ſides, the Caſtle was yielded upon Quarter, *Aug.* 15. with 400 Priſoners; many of them Perſons of Quality; 18 pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece. Then *Nunney-Caſtle*, and *Port-head Point* were ſurrendred to the Parliament; and *Fairfax* beſieged *Briſtol*, ſufficiently provided with all neceſſaries, and defended by P. *Rupert*, to whom *Fairfax* ſends a ſummons to deliver the City, for preventing bloodſhed; P. *Rupert* deſired leave to ſend to the King, which being denied, he offers to ſurrender up the place upon condition, *That every man ſhould march away in the height of honour, with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums, Trumpets, and as much Powder and Match as they could carry about them, with Bag, Baggage, Horſe, Arms, 10 Guns, and fifty Barrels of Powder; Laſtly, the Lines and Fortifications to be ſlighted, and the City to be no more a Garriſon.*

Fairfax ſends anſwer ſatisfactory enough, but not in reference to the diſmounting the Place; ſo that Prince *Rupert* having by ſeveral Attempts done as much as poſſible for preſerving the place, was forced at laſt to ſurrender;

render; In this City were found 140 peices of Cannon mounted, 100 Barrels of Powder, Victuals in the Royal Fort for 150 men for 320 days, the Caſtle Victualled for near half ſo long; the Prince had in Garriſon 2500 Foot, 1000 Horſe, beſides the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries above a Thouſand, ſo that the gaining thereof was of great conſequence to the Parliament; Soon after the *Deviſes*, *Wincheſter*, *Baſing-Houſe*, *Lameck-Houſe*, *Barkly-Caſtle*, and *Chepſtow* were taken; So that in earneſt the Kings condition began to be very low, for having again got together a good body of Horſe out of *Wales*, he reſolved to ſend the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 1600 Horſe to joyn with *Montroſs*, who had of late much prevailed in *Scotland* againſt the *Covenanters*; they accordingly marched into *Yorkſhire*, and near *Sherborn* ſurprized 800 Foot of the *Parliamentarians* with their Arms; but ſtaying for Carriages, Coll. *Copley*, *Lilburn* and others, came upon them with their Forces and routed them, recovered all, and took 400 Priſoners, and 600 Horſe, *Digby*'s Coach and Cabinet of Letters; *Digby* with the reſt fly Northwards, and at *Carlile* Sands are the ſecond time defeated by Sir *John Brown*, 100 of them ſlain, 200 Horſe taken, and many Priſoners; In their flight toward *Beeſton Caſtle*, they were again met with by Coll. *Briggs*, who took 290 of them, beſides 180 of them, who flying through *Weſtmoreland* were ſeized by *Vandruſk*; ſo that the Lord *Digby* with a very ſmall retinue fled over to the *Iſle of Man*, and thence into *Ireland*, to the E. of *Ormond*; Thus the Parliament thrived every where, for *Tiverton*, *Longford-Houſe*, *Carmarthen*, *Monmouth*, *Shelford-Houſe* near *Newark*, *Worton*, *Wiverton*, and *Welbeck* were about this time taken by their Forces; And *Hereford* having been long beſieged, was *Dec.* 18. thus taken by ſurprize; the Governour had iſſued out Warrants for the Countrey People to come in to work in the Town, which Coll. *Morgan* and *Birch* underſtanding, they march from *Gloceſter* to *Hereford* in one night, with about 2000 Horſe and Foot, and picking out ſome luſty Fellows, they clothed them in the habit of Coun-

trey Labourers, and one of them seemed to be a Co[n]ſtable with a Warrant in his hand to bring these Fello[w]s to work according to the Governours Orders; 150 Fi[re]locks were lodged in the dark as near the City as poſ[si]ble, and another Body to second them; so the Bridge is[ſ] down, the supposed Con[ſ]table and his Consorts ent[er] and presently take an occasion to quarrel with the Guard and kill 3 of them; Then come in the Firelocks, a[nd] after Collonel *Birch*, and lastly Col. *Morgan* with t[he] whole Body; these soon mastered the unaware surpri[zed] Garrison with small loss on either side, wherein we[re] 11 Peices of Ordnance, much Arms and Ammunition the L. *Brudenel* and Judge *Jenkyns*, 14 Knights, 4 Lie[u]tenants, 3 Captains, 100 other Officers and Gentlemen with which Action *Morgan* and *Birch* gained much ho[n]nour.

Cheſter had been long beſieged, and much of the Kings Hope was repoſed in that City, the L. *Byron* was Governor, and Sir *William Brereton* lay long before it, but now is taken by the Parliamentarians, after a Reſolute Fight, 100 Royaliſts being ſlain, and 400 taken Priſoners, whereupon the Town was ſurrendred upon Honourable Conditions: About which time the *Court of Wards and Liveries* is voted down by the Parliament. The King being come to *Newark* as a place of greateſt ſecurity, a ſtrange quarrel happened amongſt the great ones there, concerning the Lord *Digby* lately defeated at *Sherburn*, whom M. Gen. *Charles Gerrard* charged with Treaſon; with him ſided the two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the L. *Hawly* and Sir *Rich. Willis*, but *Bellaſis* the Governour ſtood up for *Digby* with divers others; The Contention grew hot, from words they come to Swords, and the King coming in to part them, increaſed the Feud by ſiding for *Digby* whereupon P. *Rupert* and the reſt of the Contrary party to the number of 400, in much diſguſt laid down their Commiſſions, and depart to ano[th]er place, where they ſtand upon their Guard, and ſo the King departs for *Oxford* with a Guard of 300 Horſe, whom *Poyns* meets with at their return, and routs them,

and

and then takes in *Belvoir Caſtle*, and not long after the Counteſs of *Derby* ſurrenders up her Houſe at *Latham* to the Parliament. The King at *Oxford*, with P. *Rupert* and *Maurice* now reconciled, was blockt up by the Parliaments Forces; whereupon he commands a Faſt to be obſerved every *Fryday* during his Troubles.

In the mean time a Treaty was agitated between the King and Parliament, the King deſiring to come to a perſonal Treaty with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, and with ſome likelihood of a good effect; when all was diſſolved on a ſudden by a diſcovery of certain Tranſactions between the King and the *Iriſh*, gathered out of ſeveral Letters taken at *Sherburn* in the L. *Digby's* Coach, and others found in the Pockets of the Biſhop of *Traine* ſlain at the Battle of *Sleigo* in *Ireland*; All which Tranſactions were repreſented with very untoward Reflections upon the Kings Honour and Credit, as if the King to get ſupplies from the *Iriſh* Rebels, reſolved to make Peace with them upon any terms, though never ſo diſhonourable, that is, *The granting them an abſolute Toleration of Religion, the allowing them power to chuſe a Governor of their own, the intruſting them with ſeveral Caſtles and Forts for their Caution*; And to aggravate the matter the more, a Commiſſion directed to the Earl of *Clanrickard* is produced, which made ſhew of ſome Clandeſtine negotiations between his Majeſty and the Earl about concluding a Peace with the Rebels.

In anſwer to which the King in two Meſſages, the firſt of *January* 17, the other of *Jan.* 24, *Remonſtrates to them how ill a ground theſe Allegations were for them to refuſe to come to a Treaty of Peace with him, ſince their Diſloyalty in taking up Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign compelled him to take ſuch courſes for the vindicating and defending his Perſon and Rights as were no way grateful to him, it being his greateſt deſire to put a Period to thoſe unhappy differences, and the effuſion of any more Chriſtian Blood*; *and for the Commiſſion to the Earl of* Clanrickard, *he endeavoured to give them ſatisfaction by his Meſſage of* January 29. *wherein he declared that the Earl having without His Majeſties knowledge*

ledge or the order and consent of the Lord Lieutenant and *Counsel in* Ireland *made Conditions with the Commissioners for the* Roman *Catholicks, very much to the derogation of His Honour, and the prejudice of the* Protestant Religion, he was *so far from owning what was transacted by the said Earl in this kind, that he had not the least notice of the Earls treating with those Commissioners, much less of his concluding those Articles with them, so prejudicial to Religion, and His Majesties Honour, till such time as he had advertisement of his being arrested and restrained for his Presumption; His commission being only for raising what Forces he could there, and conducting them over hither for His Majesties Service; It is not denied but that the* Marquess of Ormond *had a Commission granted him to Treat about a Peace with the* Irish; *but it was as much for ease and Relief of the* Protestant *Subjects, as for any other respects, they having been harassed with continual War, and but sparingly supplyed with those Aids which they had been so often rally promised.*

Thus did the King labour to remove all Objections that might give them any Occasion of cavil against him, and thereby obstruct their coming to a Treaty of Peace with him, and notwithstanding his former Messages were wholly neglected and unanswered, he sent them another, *Jan.* 29. still pressing his former desires, but all came to nothing, the Parliaments Commissioners when they came to treat being bound up so strictly to the rigour of their demands, though the King offered to *come to the Houses in Person upon assurance of his safety, and advise with them for the good and safety of the Kingdom, provided all that have adhered to His* Majesty *may have liberty to go to their own homes in safety, and their Sequestrations to be taken off, upon which condition the King was willing to disband all his Souldiers, dismantle his Garrisons, and pass an Act of Oblivion and free pardon to all*: But these things being not consented to, the hopes of Reconciliation vanished.

The Town of *Monmouth* was now taken by the Parliaments Forces, and soon after *Dartmouth* Town and Castle were yielded to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; in the Town

12 Gar-

Guns, and proportionable Ammunition, in the Caſtle, Ordnance mounted, and 2 Men of War before it were taken; ſhortly after a *French* Veſſel, not knowing the Town was taken, ſtruck into *Dartmouth* with a packet of Letters from the Queen, which being ſeized, diſcovered the whole Negotiation of the King with *France*; Then *Hopton* is routed at *Tonnington*; and *Saltaſh* and *Mount Edgcomb* are reduced, and Prince *Charles* finding the purſuit ſo hot, imbarqued for *Scilly*; all things ſucceeded ſo happily with *Fairfax*, that after ſeveral Succeſſes, the Lord *Hopton* deſired a ceſſation; but *Fairfax* ſummons him to lay down Arms, upon which enſued a Treaty at *Treſilian* Bridge, *Fairfax* quartering at *Truro*, and the L. *Hopton* further Weſtward, where at length, *March* 13. theſe Articles were agreed upon: *That the* L. Hopton *ſhould diſband his Army in the Weſt, and himſelf ſhould have* 50 *of his own, and* 50 *of* Fairfax's *Horſe for his Convoy to* Oxford; *all Strangers to have Paſſes to go beyond Seas, and carry with them what is their own without Horſes and Arms*; *All* Engliſh *Officers to go home to their habitation or if they will beyond Sea, each Collonel have his Horſe, and* 2 *Men and Horſes to wait on them*; *each Captain one* Man *and Horſe*; *The Troopers Twenty Shillings a peice, and to go where they pleaſe.* But Hopton hearing of the Effects of the Propoſitions of Peace, changed his courſe from *Oxford* and ſailed into *France*; After the diſbanding theſe Forces, all the Kings Garriſons and Forts in Cornwall yielded, except *Pendennis-Caſtle*, and St. Michael's Mount, and *Fairfax* returned to the Siege at *Exeter*.

The Kings Forces in the mean time had not been idle but moved up and down in flying parties to their beſt advanrage: The King, the D. of *York*, P. *Rupert*, and P. *Maurice* were at *Oxford*, cloſely ſurrounded by the Parliaments Forces, their Horſes being about *Farrington*, expecting the L. *Aſhly* with his Foot to join with them; but he was met by Sir. *Will. Brereton*, and Col. *Morgan* at *Stow* in the *Wold*, upon the Edge of *Glocester*, where he was totally defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner 150 Horſe and Foot, with his Baggage, Ammunition, and

ſome

ſome of the Kings Letters. But in *Scotland* the King's Affairs ſucceeded better this Year, where the Earl of *Montroſs* proſpered incredibly, defeating the Covenanters in ſeveral Battles: yet his proſperity was ſhort lived, for the *Highlanders*, *Iriſh*, and others leaving him, *David Leſley*, whom the Covenanters had privately ſent for out of *England*, came upon him with 6000 Men, moſt Horſe, and put him to flight; and the next year the King having intruſted himſelf with the *Scots* Army in *England*, ſent an Herald to *Montroſs* with command to lay down Arms and disband, and to paſs over into *France* at His Majeſties further pleaſure, which Orders he readily obeyed; and by this means the *Covenanters* were at leiſure to put ſome of their capital Enemies to death, and to quarrel with the Parliament about ſome differences at that time ariſing.

The next year 1646. The Commons begin with diſabling all Members abſent with the King, from ever ſitting in the Houſe, and impower the Speaker to give Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown for new Elections in their Places; the Prince of *Wales* being in *Scilly*, the Parliament invite him to come to them, but he would not venture; After which ſome Overtures were made for a Peace, but all came to nothing; the King had formerly offered to come to the Parliament in order to a *Perſonal Treaty*, which not being reliſhed by the Parliament, divers ſevere Orders are iſſued out againſt the Kings Party; and now the War is almoſt brought to a Period, for the Kings Forces being beaten out of the Field, the Garriſons ſurrender apace, *Dennington Caſtle*, St. *Michaels Mount*, *Ruthen Caſtle*, *Woodſtock*, and others yield to the Parliament. *Exeter* after a long Seige is delivered to *Fairfax* upon Articles, and ſoon after *Barnſtable* alſo; and now Gen. *Fairfax* reſolves to march to *Oxford*, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own ſafety, and therefore *April* 13. he came out of *Oxford* in diſguiſe with Mr. *Hudſon* a Miniſter, and Mr. *John Alhburnham*, whoſe ſervant he perſonated, and got to the *Scots* Army before *Newark May* 6. whereupon

divers Noblemen, as if they had been deſerted by the King yielded to *Fairfax*: but Sir *Tho. Glenham* the Gorvernor ſtill held out the City, and upon being ſummoned, deſired to ſend to the King about it, which being refuſed, after a Treaty of ſome weeks it was delivered up to *Fairfax* on very honourable Terms; P. *Rupert*, P. *Maurice* and divers others tranſporting themſelves beyond Sea. In the City were found 70 Barrels of Powder, 38 Pieces of Ordnance, whereof 26 Braſs, and great Proviſions of Victual. The Duke of *York* was carried to St. *James's*, where he met with his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, who had been ſent hither from the ſurrender of *Exeter*, but was ſhortly after conveyed over into *France* by her Governeſs the Lady *Dalkeith*.

Oxford being taken, it was in vain for the leſſer Garriſons to ſtand out, and thereupon news comes daily of the ſurrenders of *Banbury*, *Borſtall*, *Carnarvan*, *Ludlow*, *Litchfield*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Gothridg*, *Pendennis Caſtle*, and *Ragland Caſtle*; The *Scots* alſo were at laſt perſuaded to ſet down before *Newark*, and the beſieged make frequent Sallies on their Enemies, killing and taking many; But the King being come to the *Scotiſh* Camp, ſends in his deſires to Governor *Bellaſis* to deliver up the Town to the *Engliſh*, in obedience whereunto it was upon honourable conditions ſurrendred to Coll. *Poyns*; In May 1646. The Seals being ſent from *Oxford* to *Weſtminſter*, were according to the Vote of the two Houſes broken in the Houſe of Lords in the preſence of the Commons; The War in *England* being now after much bloodſhed brought to ſome end, the Parliament were at leiſure to diſpute with the *Scots* concerning their keeping off the King; who fearing leaſt *Fairfax* ſhould fall upon them, and compel them to deliver him up, retreated farther Northward to *Newcaſtle*; The Parliament ſend a ſecond Invitation to the Prince of *Wales to come to London*, with promiſe of Honour and ſafety, but he did not think fit to venture; *Sept.* 14. the Earl of *Eſſex* died of an Apoplexy, and the Parliament in reſpect to his former Services voted 3000 pound to be given toward his Funeral,

which was performed with great Pomp; soon after Gen. *Fairfax* marches to *London*, being met by the City Trained Bands, and had the publick Thanks of both Houses and a Congratulation from the L. Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City.

The King sends from *Newcastle* to the Parliament about a Treaty, and the House of Commons vote, *That the Kings Person should be demanded of the* Scots, *and that their whole Army return home upon receipt of part of their Arrears, the rest to be sent after them*, and a Committee is appointed to Treat with the *Scotch* Commissioners, about drawing up Propositions to be sent to the King, wherein much time was spent in wrangling, whilst the *English* denied the *Scots* to have any right in the disposal of the King of *England*, and the *Scots* as stiffly alledged, *He was the King as much as of the* English; *and they had as good right to dispose of the King in* England *as the* English *could challenge in* Scotland; but at last they agreed on 16 General Propositions, which were presented to the King at *Newcastle*, July 27. 1646. By the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Pembroke*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hipsly*, Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Robinson*, who were limited to 10 days. The King returned answer, *That their Propositions imported so great alteration of Government both in Church and State, derogated so much from his Prerogative, and imposed such hard Conditions upon him in reference to his Friends and Adherents, and likewise that their Commissioners were so bound up from any capacity either of giving Reasons for their demands they brought, or receiving any to such desires as his Majesty should propound, that it was impossible for him with any satisfaction to his Conscience to give such an Answer to their Propositions as that thereby a well grounded Peace might ensue*; And withal he urges his desire of coming to *London* there to treat Personally. But this desire however reasonable, they refuse, nor would permit the *French* King to interpose by his Ambassador.

The *States* General Assembly sent a Remonstrance to the King, desiring him to settle matters in *England* according to the *Covenant*, and Chancellor *Loudon* told him plain

plainly; *That there was no other means for him to close with his two Houses, and that unless he did it, if he lost* England, *he should not be admitted to come and reign in* Scotland; But all this could not prevail, and therefore the *Scots* who had hitherto so sharply disputed about the disposal of his Person, are content upon the Receipt of Two Hundred Thousand Pound to depart home, and leave the King in the power of the Parliament; who voted him to *Holmby* House, and sent their Commissioners the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, L. *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Hoiyland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *Crew* and M. G. *Brown*; to receive him from the *Scots* at *Newcastle*, to whom *February* 8. 1646. he was accordingly delivered, and leaving *Newcastle* in the possession of the *English*, they marched homeward; *Feb.* 8. The King sad and sorrowful, sets forward with the Commissioners for *Holmby*, attended with 900 Horse, and after a fortnight came to his Journies end, being met by the way by General *Fairfax*, and many of his Officers.

The Parliament now freed from all opposition, break out among themselves, dividing into several Parties under the Title of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and *March* 19. a Vote was passed for disbanding part of the Army, and dismantling many Garrisons, which much discontented the Army, who knowing their own Power, drew near to *London* and *Westminster*, and frame a Petition, whereat the City being startled, they likewise draw up their Petition and pray, *That the Parliament would Command that the Army be forthwith removed, and after with all speed disbanded, and that the City may make yearly Election of their own Militia*; and so ends this year.

In *Ireland* all things had gone to wrack for these last 4 years; But now the Parliament sends over Col. *Monk* with about 2000 Horse and Foot, who had some successes against the *Irish*; but the Parliament resolving to prosecute the War vigorously, send over 8400 Foot besides Officers, with 3000 Horse, and 1200 Dragoons; All which were taken out of General *Fairfax's* Army, which caused much animosity between the Army and Parlia-

ment, and though men might reaſonably have expected that the 23d year of his Majeſties Reign ſhould have begun with a Sunſhine of ſettlement, ſo deſirable after ſuch ſtorms of War, yet ſuch hopes were blaſted by theſe Diſſentions; the Army being offended with the Parliament for disbanding them, and being incouraged by pretended Petitions from ſeveral Counties to the General, not to disband till the Peace of the Kingdom were fully ſetled; They drew up a Petition which was preſented to the Parliament by Lieu. Gen. *Hammond* and others, *Deſiring proviſion for Pardon and Indemnity; Their Arrears to be paid; That the Foot Souldiers may not be preſt out of the Kingdom, nor Horſemen ſerve on Foot, that the Widdows and Children of ſuch as were ſlain in their ſervice might be provided for, and that they may receive Pay to diſcharge their Quarters, and not burthen the Country till the Army be disbanded.* This offended the Parliament, who declared their high diſlike of it, and Voted, *That ſuch as continued in this way of Acting ſhould be proceeded againſt as Enemies of the State.*

Some Petitions from *Eſſex* and other places are preſented to the Parliament, inveighing againſt the proceedings of the Army, which much vexes the Souldiers, who ſharply Apologize for themſelves, and utterly refuſe the ſervice of *Ireland* till ſatisfaction were given to their Deſires; the difference was likely to have grown wider, but to cloſe the Breach, Commiſſioners are choſen on both ſides to procure a right underſtanding; But the Army judged that it would be to their advantage if they could get the King into their hands, and therefore *June* 3. 1647. Cornet *Joyce* was ſent to *Holmby* with 500 Horſe, who brought away the King from thence with the Parliaments Commiſſioners, who would by no means leave him, promiſing him, *That he ſhould have no violence offered to his Perſon; That his Trunks and Papers ſhould not be rifled nor tumbled; That he ſhould be attended with ſuch Servants againſt whom there could be no juſt exception, and that nothing ſhould be impoſed on him contrary to his Conſcience;* And ſo he was conveyed to *Childerſley*, and thence by his own

own desire to *New-market*; This the General certifies in a Letter to the Parliament, affirming it to be done without his consent, and that the reason alledged by the Actors was, because certain Persons had designed to take away his Majesty, thereby to gather strength to make a new War, which they were able and ready to prove.

And now the Army to the great terror of the Parliament march toward *London*, and come to St. *Albans*, notwithstanding a Message from both Houses not to come within 25 miles of the City; which the General excuses, saying, *That the Army was come thither before they received the Parliaments desire*; And here he obtains a Months Pay; the Parliament vote, *That the General be required to deliver the Person of the King to the former Commissioners, who were to bring him to* Richmond, *that propositions of Peace might be speedily presented to his Majesty, and that Coll.* Rossiter *and his Regiment might guard his Person*, To this the Army would not consent, and therefore sent up their Representation, with these Proposals as the only effectual means to procure a stable settlement; *That the Houses may be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there*; *That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and indanger the Kingdom, may be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse*; *That some determinate time may be set to this and future Parliament, according to the intent of the Act for Triennial Parliaments, that provision may be made they may not be Adjourned nor Prorogued without their own consent, during such a certain time, and then determine themselves*; *That the Freedom of the People (to prevent Grievances) by Petitioning the Parliament, may be vindicated. That the exorbitant power of Country Committees may be taken away*; *That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments Account for the vast Sums received, and also in divers others things wherein the Commonwealth hath been abused*; *That after Delinquents have passed their compositions, an Act of* Oblivion *may be passed*.

The Parliament being divided into 2 Parties, the *Independants* countenanced the Army, and the *Presbyterians* the City in a high manner against the Army; of whom

they would fain have rid themſelves, by ſending a great part of them into *Ireland*, and diſbanding all the reſt; to prevent which, they had in readineſs an Impeachment againſt 11 of them; *For retarding the relief of* Ireland; *For acting many things againſt the Laws and Liberties of the people, and for obſtructing the Courts of Juſtice*, all which was offered to be proved againſt them; their names were *Denzil Hollis* Eſq; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clothworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Maſſey*, M. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, Coll. *Walter Long*; Coll. *Edward Harley*, and *Anthony Nichols* Eſq; And with this Charge they delivered in a Paper, deſiring the accuſed Members to be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe; this was judged a great intrenchment upon Parliament; but the Army peeſſing, the 11 Members firſt forbore the Houſe, and afterward obtained leave to Travel for ſix months; yet to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Parliament, the Army removed farther off from *London*, having the King continually near them, who had a great deſire to ſee his Children, which he obtained by a Letter from *Fairfax* to the Parliament. The 11 Members being gone, the Army part in the Houſe of Commons began to prevail for a Vote was paſſed for taking the *London Militia* out of the hands of the City, and transferring it to others better affected to the Army; and it was made Treaſon to procure Subſcriptions to Petitions; upon which great multitudes of Apprentices, and others flockt to *Weſtminſter* in a mutinous manner, clamouring at the Parliament doors, and requiring, *That Vote ſhould be repealed before the Members ſhould paſs out of the Houſe*, and forcing the Speaker back into the Chair, conſtrained him and them to ſit till they extorted this Vote from them; *That the King ſhould come to* London, *and the City have their* Militia *reſtored to them*; And then the Parliament adjourned for ſome days.

The General who for the eaſe of the Countrey was removed to *Bedford*, hearing of this, marches up towards *London*, and ſends before him a Letter to the L. Mayor

and Aldermer, wherein he ſignifies his Reſentment of the large outrage, and requires Juſtice to be done on the offenders; in his way at *Hounſlow* he is met with by the Speakers of both Houſes, and ſuch of the Members as ſided with the Army, who complained of the affront and injurious violence offered them, and there they conſult together how to get the City without blood; In the mean time the contrary party meet together in Parliament, and chuſe new Speakers, the 11 Members being again admitted, and the firſt thing done is, the confirming the laſt extorted Votes, and to put the City in a poſture of defence, ordering Soldiers to be liſted, and M. G. *Maſſey*, Col. *Poyns*, & Sir *W. Waller* to have the command of them, and the Citizens publiſhed a Declaration againſt the Army, yet were not matters ſo clearly carryed, but upon *Fairfax*'s approach, many diſſentions aroſe in their Councels; and at *Guildhall* they fell from words to blows, divers being wounded, and ſome ſlain, and laſtly the Court of Aldermen conclude to write to the General, excuſing themſelves, and charging the fault upon ſome particular Perſons; *Fairfax* ſends a Brigade under *Rainsborough* and *Hewſon* over *Kingſton* Bridge to *Southwark*, who take the great Fort on the Highway to *Lambeth*; The Common Council ſpeed away many Meſſages for a pacification, which the General with the conſent of the Members of Parliament then preſent granted upon condition, *that they ſhould diſert the Parliament then ſitting, and the* 11 *impeached Members, and to deliver up the Tower and their other Forts*; which they were glad to ſubmit to; preſently a Declaration was publiſhed for making void all Acts paſſed by the Members at *Weſtminſter*, ſince *July* 26 laſt paſt.

Auguſt 6. 1647. General *Fairfax* marched in Triumph to *Weſtminſter*, and re-eſtabliſhed the diſturbed Members of Parliament, receiving their publick thanks for vindicating them from injurious uſage, as they complained, of the Citizens, and the next day he marched through the City with his whole Army, being twenty Thouſand Horſe and Foot to the *Tower*, and a months pay was given to the Army as a Gratuity for

their good ſervice in ſuppreſſing the late Inſurrection, but the Exciſe was thought fit to be continued; The General had his head Quarters at *Kingſton*, and the King was ſetled at *Hampton Court* with his Children about him, whither the Earl of *Ormond* repaired to him, having by his Command quitted his Government in *Ireland* to the Parliaments Commiſſioners; Inquiry being *now* made into the Actors and Fomenters of the late Tranſactions, they were proceeded againſt at the diſcretion of the Judges; Mr. *Glyn* was turned out of his Recorderſhip, Sir *John Maynard* was impeached of Treaſon, *Hillis*, *Waller*, *Clothworthy*, *Maſſey*, *Long and Nichols* were ſummoned to attend the Houſe. *October* 16. Sir *John Gayre* Lord Mayor, and 4 Aldermen, *Culham*, *Bunch*, *Langham* and *Adams* were accuſed and committed to the Tower, and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk* and *Middleſex*, with the L. *Berkly*, *Maynard*, *Hunſden*, and *Willoughby* of *Parham* were committed to the Black Rod; But care was now taken to pull down the Pride of the City; for both Houſes Order the caſting down of all the works about it, and the dividing their *Militia*, impowering the City of *Weſtminſter*, the Burrough of *Southwark*, and the Hamlets about the *Tower*, each to have its diſtinct *Militia* of itſelf.

The Army being much behind in Arrears, petition the Parliament, who upon conſideration, order them ſome money at the preſent, and then drew up propoſitions of peace to be ſent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe offered at *Newcaſtle*, and had the like effect, the buſineſs of Epiſcopacy being always the main objection, which the Parliament were reſolved to aboliſh, and the King preferring the ſatisfaction of his Conſcience before all other reſpects, would rather loſe all than conſent thereto; and in his anſwer of *Sept.* 9. ſeemed rather to incline to the Army than Parliament, which giving them great occaſion of diſtaſte is thought to have contributed much to his prejudice; about this time the Parliament vote Six Thouſand Foot and Two Thouſand four hundred Horſe, and Dragoons

to be ſent into *Ireland*, and Seven Thouſand Two Hundred Horſe, and a Thouſand Dragoons to be kept as a ſtanding Army in *England*; Soon after the Officers to provide for themſelves, elected out of every Regiment a certain number of Souldiers to meet and conſult, by the name of *Agitators*, who together draw up a large Letter to *Fairfax*, full of Complements, deſiring *That he would take ſome courſe to ſettle the Nation in Peace, and to ſecure thoſe who had fought againſt the King, from ſtanding in any need of asking him Pardon, or receiving Indemnity from him; That Parliaments may be determined to certain periods of time, and that care be taken for due Election of Members for the future, and for the payment of the Armies Arrears, that they may not be burthenſome to the Country.* To whom Sir *Thomas* anſwers, *That he had a good opinion of the honeſty of their Intentions, and referred their deſires to the General Counſil of Officers.*

The *Scots* Commiſſioners ſend a Letter, *Nov.* 6. 1647. to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and require *That the King may be admitted to a Perſonal Treaty, or at leaſt that he ſhould not be carried from* Hampton *Court violently, as he was from* Holmby *Houſe, but that Commiſſioners of both Parliaments may freely paſs to and from him, to Treat for the ſettlement of the Kingdoms*; This put the Parliament upon preparing new propoſitions; During which time the King is informed, that his Perſon was in ſome hazard by the *Agitators*, who were contriving ſome deſign to take away his life, whereupon he conſults with Sir *John Berkley*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Col. *William Legg* how to prevent the danger and among them it is reſolved to eſcape to the Iſle of *Jerſey*, to which end a Ship is prepared to take him in about *Southampton*, and Horſes are lodged near *Hampton Ferry*; And thus *November* 11. withdrawing himſelf, as uſual, before Evening Prayers with his 3 forementioned Confidents eſcaped to his Horſes by the way of *Paradiſe*, a place ſo called in the Garden and rid away, leaving behind him a Letter to the Parliament, which was afterward delivered them, wherein he promiſed to break through this Cloud of retirement, and

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ſhew himſelf to be really a Father of his Countrey, if he might be heard with Freedom, Honour and ſafety; but the King coming to the Sea-ſhore, found himſelf diſappointed of the Ship; whereupon it was concluded, that the King and Coll. *Legg* ſhould go to the Counteſs Dowager of *Southamptons* houſe at *Teaſworth*, whil'ſt the L. *Berkly* and *Aſhburnham* ferried over to the *Iſle of Weight* to Governor *Hammond*, of whom the King had ſome hopes, becauſe of his Brother Dr. *Hammond*, who was his Majeſties Chaplain, to whom they were to ſignify in General, *That the King having eſcaped from imminent danger of Aſſaſſination, was willing to caſt himſelf upon his fidelity if he would ingage upon Oath for the ſafety and Liberty of his Perſon*, *Hammond* would ingage for his ſafety, but not for his Liberty, and they fearing to be taken into Cuſtody, came over with him to the Ladies Houſe, where the King was, who found he was neceſſitated to caſt himſelf with an unwilling willingneſs upon Coll. *Hammonds* Protection; who preſently certifies the Parliament of it, and they being well contented therewith; ordered his continuance there, with the ſame attendance, and no other, that he had at *Hampton Court*.

The King being at *Carisbrook Caſtle*, writes a Letter to the Parliament, and another to the *Scots* Commiſſioners wherein he profeſſes, *That he cannot either as a Chriſtian, or a King conſent to the aboliſhing Epiſcopal Hierarchy, becauſe he judged it Apoſtolical, and had ſworn at his Coronation to maintain it, but he was willing that the Presbyterian Government ſhould continue for three years, and a free debate to be had between the Divines Aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *and* 20 *that he ſhould appoint, about the ſettlement of Church Government for the Future; He is alſo willing that the Parliament ſhall diſpoſe of the* Militia, *and have the choice of his Privy Councellors during his Reign; provided they have it by Grant of Patent from him, and that it return to his Succeſſors, and he is willing that the Arrears of the Army ſhould be paid, and he will be ready to uſe his utmoſt endeavour for the raiſing of ſo much money*; Theſe and ſome other propoſals he made, promiſing likewiſe to ſatisfy *Scotland* when he ſhall receive his de-

desires and still be pressed for a *Personal Treaty*, which the Parliament refuse, yet after three days debate they were content to admit of it, provided they would sign these 4 Bills. 1. *That it be lawful for the future to order the* Militia *without the Kings Consent, to raise what Armies they please; All others under pain of Treason to be prohibited to assemble to the number of 30 Persons without Authority of Parliament.* 2. *That it be lawful for both the two Houses to sit, or adjourn their sitting to what place they please, and to assemble at what time soever at their own discretion.* 3. *That all Oaths, Interdictions and Declarations set forth in publick against either of the Houses, be accounted and declared void.* 4. *Whomsoever of the Nobility the King hath dignified with Titles from the time himself departed, and carried away the Great Seal of the Kingdom, that they shall be degraded of their Honours; and these 4 Bills to be passed into Act.*

These Propositions were carried to the King by the Earl of *Denbigh*, L. *Montague*, Mr. *Lisley*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Kemp*, and Mr. *Barkley*; But the *Scots* Commissioners follow, and protest against them, as too much intrenching on the Kings Honour, and contrary to the Parliaments former Engagements, and protestation; And so the King refused to sign them, desiring the Commissioners to tell the two Houses, that there were different Interests to be complyed with, namely, the Parliament, the Army and the *Scots*, and therefore he requested, that some means might be found out to give content to all these, without which a well grounded Peace could never be established. The Kings refusal so offended the Commons, that they put it to the vote; *Whether any more Addresses should be made to him?* and after a long debate it was Resolved. 1. *That no Addresses shall be hereafter made to him by the Parliament of England.* 2. *That none shall under pain of Treason make any Addresses without leave from the Parliament.* 3. *That no written Paper, Message or Declaration be received from his Majesty on penalty of Treason*; which votes were so well resented of the Army, that having now no further need of their Assistance, they reduced them into Order, and publish'd a Declaration wherein they

approve of the Commons proceedings, and their Reſolution to adhere, and ſtand by them in their votes, even againſt the King himſelf, or any other that ſhall joyn with him; which the Lords perceiving, after many days tugging about it, they at laſt aſſented to the votes of the Houſe of Commons: In the mean time Coll. *Hammond* had turned away the Kings Servants, and uſed him a little more ſeverely than formerly, which occaſioned a Mutiny at *Newport*, the chief Town in the *Iſle of Wight* where one Cap. *Burleigh* beat up a drum for the Kings ſervice and delivery, but was ſoon ſuppreſſed, himſelf taken Priſoner, and afterward hang'd, drawn and quartered as a Traitor: and more Forces are ſent at Coll. *Hammonds* requeſt to ſecure the Iſland.

And now both Houſes vote, that the Committee of *Derby* Houſe have a full power to tranſact the buſineſs of the whole Kingdom, and to diſpoſe as they ſhall think fit of the Army commanded by Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, who is now impowered to place and diſplace the Kings Attendants, provided he allow him not above 30, and ſoon after he becomes Lord *Fairfax* by the death of his Father; about this time Judge *Jenkyns* was brought to the Bar of the Houſe, where he refuſed to kneel; His Charge was read againſt him; *That he had paſſed ſentence againſt men to be hanged, drawn, and Quartered for not aſſiſting againſt the Parliament*; *That he took up Arms himſelf, and ſtirred up others againſt them, and had charged them with Counterfeiting the Great Seal*; which he was ſo far from denying or any way extenuating, that he boldly owned all, and more than they accuſed him of, endeavouring to terrify them with the numerouſneſs of the Royal Iſſue; and ſo provoked the Houſe with his Deportment and words, that he was fined a Thouſand Pounds, and the Houſe voted a charge to be brought up againſt him; the Marqueſs of *Ormond* after ſeveral Capitulations had yielded up the *Iriſh* Government in the hands of the Parliament, by whom Coll. *Jones* was ſent over with 1450 Horſe and Foot, who took poſſeſſion of *Dublin*, *June* 17. and is made Governor of the City at the ſame time that

that Sir *Charles Coot* defeated a Party of the *Iriſh*, and not to be Idle, he marches out with 3000 men againſt Gen. *Preſton*, who being 8000 ſtrong, routed him, and put him to flight, doing much execution upon his Forces in 4 miles purſuit; but *Aug.* 8. they came to a ſecond encounter near *Trym*, where Coll. *Jones* revenged his former defeat, beat *Preſton* out of his Bogg; killed 5470 Foot Souldiers, and 300 of the Gentry, took 7000 Arms, 4 pieces of Cannon, and great pillage, with 150 Oxen, and improving his Victory, takes 13 other conſiderable Caſtles; ſoon after the Lord *Inchequin* gave a defeat to another Party of the *Iriſh* in *Munſter*, killing and taking 4000 men; ſo that now the Parliament having no need of the *Scotiſh* Forces in *Ulſter*, were very earneſt to have them recalled.

The year 1648. and the 24th. of His Majeſties Reign begins with the viſitation of the Univerſity of *Oxford* by the new Chancellor the Earl of *Pembroke*, not without much reſiſtance; for the Heads and Principals would neither own the authority nor the Covenant, for which many of them were routed their places, and others put in, and the Parliament vote, *That all thoſe who will not ſubmit to their power ſhall be expelled the Univerſity, and all the Colledge Rents to be paid to the Viſitors by them appointed.* This Summer the King though a Priſoner was as formidable as ever ſince the late Troubles, the very name of a King proving ſufficient to raiſe conſiderable Armies; *London* it ſelf was not free from Mutiny, for *April.* 9. the Apprentices ſet upon a part of the Trained Bands, whom they overpowered, and increaſing hourly, divided into Parties; one whereof made toward *Whitehall*, but were repreſſed by the Horſe Gaurds at the *Mews*, yet at night they join again, ſurprize *Newgate* and *Ludgate*, and ſhut up the Gates; then they ſeized a ſmall Ordnance from the L. Mayors Houſe, which they place within *Ludgate*, the next morning they break open ſome Gunſmiths Shops for Arms and Ammunition, and maſtered the Magazine at *Leadenhall* crying out *for God and King* Charles; But the next day General *Fairfax* entred *Alderſgate* with

with 2 Regiments, marched to *Leadenhall-ſtreet*, and there charged the undiſciplined multitude, who after a ſhort tumultuary skirmiſh, were utterly diſperſed with little or no loſs.

But in *Wales* Col. *Poyer* Governour of *Pembroke* Caſtle, refuſed to deliver up his charge upon demand without full payment of his Arrears and M. G. *Langhorn* for the ſame reaſon denied to disband his Men, and ſo both revolt, and *Langhorn* ſurprizes *Tenby* Caſtle with the Parliaments Commiſſioners in it, and now they grow bold, commanding contribution round about, and declare for the King. Coll. *Horton* is ſent Commander in chief againſt them with 30 Companies of Horſe and Foot, who ſends out Col. *Fleming* to gain a paſs from *Poyer* which he finds quitted to his hands, but going on, improvidently falls into *Poyers* Ambuſcado, by whom he is totally routed, and forced to fly with a few others to a Neighbouring Church, which finding himſelf unable to defend, he died as it is thought by his own Sword, and the reſt were taken Priſoners; This ſucceſs was attended with another, *Chepſtow* Caſtle being taken by Sir *Tho. Kemeſh* in the Governours abſence; But now the Tide turns, for news comes that Lieu. Gen. *Cromwel* is advancing with a ſtrong power to ſuppreſs them; which make *Langhorn* reſolve to fight *Horton* before his coming; who as willingly marched to meet him, and *May* 8. near St. *Fagows*, views his Enemy near 8000 ſtrong, but in diſorder and unready to Fight. In this condition Col. *Horton* charged them, and obtained an eaſie victory, killed ſome, took 1500 Officers, and 5000 common Souldiers Priſoners, *Langhorn* and *Powel* eſcaped by Flight. *Cromwell* enters *Wales*, ſtorms *Tenby Caſtle*, and has it yielded upon mercy, and *Chepſtow* Caſtle was re-taken by Coll. *Ewer*; but all this could not keep Sir *John Owen* quiet, who whileſt *Cromwel* beſieged *Pembroke* Caſtle, got together ſome Forces in *Northwales*, which the County Sheriff would have ſurprized, but being too weak was defeated and taken Priſoner, and ſhortly after the ſame fortune befel *Owen* himſelf by the Forces of M. G. *Mi-*

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ton; *Pembroke* Town and Caſtle ſtood out couragiouſly for a long time; but at length were ſo diſtreſſed, that they willingly would have ſurrendred if they could have obtained any other conditions than to yield upon diſcretion; *Cromwel* gives a furious ſtorm, which the Beſieged reſolutely endured; But the *Scottiſh* Invaſion made him more inclinable to Treat, and the Town and Caſtle was delivered upon Articles, *July* 13; *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors to ſubmit to the Parliaments mercy, the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen to depart the Kingdom within ſix weeks for two years, the reſt to return to their own homes, and the Town to enjoy their Liberties and Freedoms; thoſe that ſubmitted to mercy, were afterward tryed as Traitors, notwithſtanding the Princes Letter to Gen. *Fairfax* on their behalf, only they had the favour to caſt Lots for their Lives, and ſo Col. *Poyer* only ſuffered.

April 20. 1648. the *D.* of *York* diſguiſed in Womens Apparel, made his eſcape from St. *James*'s by water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland* by the help of one Col. *Bampfield* ſent over for that purpoſe by the Queen. The Countrey now began to be diſpleaſed, that after ſuch expence of men and money, there was yet no likelyhood of a ſettlement, but rather a fearful expectation of new Wars, and therefore reſolve to Petition; the County of *Eſſex* begins, deſiring the Parliament, *That the Army may be disbanded, and the King admitted to a Perſonal Treaty*; *Surrey* follows, and deſires the like, but only in higher Terms, and being numerous, quarrel with the Souldiers at *Weſtminſter*, and came to blows, ſome hurt was done on both ſides, but night parts the Fray; *London* petitions to the ſame effect, and deſire; *That thoſe Priſoners who ſtood committed for the Inſurrection in* Maſſey's *Inſtruſs might be releaſed*; as they were ſoon after upon the Cities conſtant adhering to the Parliament, and refuſing to ſend aid to the *Kentiſh* men againſt *Fairfax*; and at their deſire the *Militia* was reſtored, and M. G. *Skippon* was appointed Commander of the City, and all the Forces within the late lines of Communication; the Lieut.

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of the *Tower* was discharged, and Mr. *West* Citizen put in his place, and Col. *Barkstead* and *Rich* were ordered to draw their Regiments out of *Whitehall* and the *Mews*, instead of which, the Common-Council of the City order a Guard for the Parliament, and 600 pound yearly for their Major General; and all this with the Generals free consent and approbation. The *Kentish* men would not petition, but with their Swords in their hands, and were up in Arms in such considerable numbers, that it was thought fit for *Fairfax* himself to march against them, which he doth with 6000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, the *Kentish* men were near 2000, but unadvised, parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle; *Fairfax* advances, and defeats some near *Gravesend*, and others at *Northfield*, and the *Kentish* men not being prepared to fight, he comes to *Maidstone*, in which they were drawn up in a Body, the Town strongly man'd, and well provided with Ordnance, and Barricado'd; *Fairfax* having increased his Army to 10000, falls to storming, *June* 2. at 7 at night, whilst those within fought stoutly both in the streets and from the Houses, so that getting all by Inches, after 6 hours fight, and much loss, on his side, *Fairfax* got the victory, 200 *Kentish* were slain, and 1300 Prisoners taken, divers of Quality; 400 Horse, 8 Pieces of Cannon with good Booty; *Rochester* after this was surrendred to *Fairfax* upon discretion; many of the *Kentishmen* get together under the old Lord *Goring*, and crossing *Greenwich Ferry* into *Essex*, joyn with Sir *Charles Lucas*, who had raised 2000 Horse and Foot, and seized the E. of *Warwicks* Armory, and gat into *Colchester*, which now becomes the seat of War, and the Country flocked in to them with a party from *London*, and the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Loughborough* from *Hartfordshire*.

But *Fairfax* leaving Col. *Rich* and *Hewson* to take in those places in *Kent*, which himself had no time to reduce, crost into *Essex*, and came before *Colchester*, surrounding it with a potent Army; the Seamen being now dissatisfied and mutinous, divers Ships with Vice-

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Admiral *Batten* went to Prince *Charles*, who with a conſiderable Fleet ſets to Sea, with his Brother the D. of *York*, P. *Rupert*, the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby* and *Culpiper*, and others of Quality, and came into *Yarmouth* Road with 20 good Men of War, and 2000 Souldiers, where he would have landed; but hearing of Col. *Scroops* coming againſt him with a Party of Horſe and Foot, he ſailed from thence to the *Downs*, ſeizing what Merchant Ships and Goods he could meet withal. *Deal* Caſtle was at this time beſieged, for the relief whereof, the Prince ſets 500 men aſhore, who at firſt charged handſomely, but being too weak, ſome were taken, others ſlain, and the reſt got on Board again; ſoon after *Sandwich*, *Deal and Weymouth* Caſtles were yielded up, and all *Kent* fully reduced; whileſt the Pr. Anchors in the *Downs*, the States of *Scotland* invite him to them, and ingage the publick Faith of that Kingdom for his well being in Honour, Freedom, and ſafety with them and their Army in *England*, or where elſe he pleaſed, but he having written to the Houſe of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain ſummoned the E. of *Warwick* Admiral for the Parliament to ſubmit to him as chief Cap. Gen. under his Majeſty, and wanting Proviſions, returned back with his Fleet into *Hol.* But the E. of *Holland* being Commiſſioned from the Praiſes Forces juſt in the view of the Parliament at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, aſſiſted by the D. of *Buckingham*, L. *Francis Villers*, his Brother, and the E. of *Peterborough*, and *July* 2. they muſtered 500 Horſe and ſome Foot upon *Kingſton* Heath, and from thence marched to *Darking* deſigning to poſſeſs *Rigate*, but were prevented by Col *Rich*, and Major *Gibbons*, and therefore retreat from thence toward *Kingſton*, cloſely purſued by the other, and ſending their Foot before, to ſecure their retreat to the Town, they made a ſtand between *Ewel* and *Nonſuch* Park; the Purſuers follow on, the Fight was ſhort and ſmart, the L. *Francis Villers* refuſing Quarter was ſlain, with Major *Dalbier* and a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others; the reſt put to flight, and many Priſoners

Prisoners of note taken; the Earl of *Holland* was taken at St. *Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, but the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped beyond Sea.

Colchester holds out couragiously, making frequent Sallies on the Besiegers with some success, hoping for relief from the North; the Parliament of *Scotland* having sate since last *March*, and were disgusted at the Proceedings of the *English* against the King, so that notwithstanding the offers of the Parliament to pay their former Arrears, and their inclination to settle the *Presbyterian* Government here; yet they formed a *Committee of Danger* about *English* Affairs, The Major part whereof being *Hamiltons* Faction, vote War, which the others protest against, but to no purpose, and now the *Scots* publish their Declaration, the Heads whereof were, *That His Majesty may come to* London, *or to some of his Houses near, and that with safety; That reparation be made for carrying him away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it; That the Army under the L.* Fairfax *be disbanded; that Presbytery be settled, Sectaries punished; that all the Members of the House be restored*; The *Royalists* now flock apace to *Edenburgh*, and *Wogan* a Captain in the *English* Army, revolts to them with his Troop, and 2 Companies of Foot landed out of *Ireland* at *Cheshire*, and marched thither likewise; *Berwick* is surprized by the *Royalists*; Sir *Tho. Glenham*, and Sir P. *Musgrave* raise Forces for the King in *Westmorland* and *Cumberland*, with which they surprize *Carlisle*; and with them joins Sir *Mar. Landale* with some Horse, he being General of the *English* Army, for the King, and now being about 3000 strong, they coast about the Northern Counties; *July* 13. 1648. The *Scots* Army entred *England* the Van led by D. *Hamilton*; the main body, by M. G. *Middleton*, and the Reer by the E. of *Calender*, these join with *Langdale*, and fall upon M. G. *Lambert* near *Appleby*, forcing him to retire into the Town, and from thence to *Kirby Steven*, and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his Forces behind him to defend the Castle, which was besieged, and taken *Aug.* 11. by

by Sir P. *Musgrave*; Col. *Boynton* Governour of *Scarborough* Castle now declares for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was surprized by Major *Morris*; *Tinmouth* Castle likewise revolts, but was soon retaken by Sir *Arthur Haslerig*.

The *Scots* retreat to *Kendal* in *Westmoreland*, and *Lambert* much increased his Forces, and *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marches to joyn with *Lambert*, taking *Pomfret* Town (but not the Castle) in his way; *Hamilton* leaves *Kendal*, and marches into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*; which the *English* Army design to hinder, and therefore march to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with near 24000 Souldiers; *Cromwel* and *Lambert* had about 5000 Horse, and Dragoons, and 7000 Foot; *August* 17. both Armies faced each other; Major *Smithson* commanded the Forlorn of the *English*, who charged furiously on the other, routed them, and Alarum'd the whole Army, and so the Battles joyn on a Moor 2 miles East of *Preston*; the Fight was very hot for 2 hours, but then the *Scots* gave ground, which incouraged the *English* to pursue, and that so fiercely as the *Scots* were forced to divide; one part being a Body of 3000 Horse moved toward *Lancaster*, and was pursued and dispersed by Col. *Twisleton*, and *Thornlow*, who took multitudes of them prisoners; the other part, Horse and Foot, march over the River *Ribel*, whom the main of the English Army follow, and at *Ribel* Bridge, the *Scots* make a stand defending the pass stoutly for 2 hours, even to push a Pike, and were then constrained to retire; the next morning the *Scots* draw up upon an Hill, on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the *English*, they fled in great disorder to *Wiggan*, which they plundred, and next morning marched toward *Warrington*, the *English* being still in pursuit of them; near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking the advantage of a Pass, make another stand, but were again beaten with the loss of a 1000 men, and were prosecuted to the very Bridge, where 4000 of the Foot being deserted of the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to mercy; *Hamilton* escaped with 3000 Horse

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to *Nantwich*, where the Countrey being up in Arms, seized 500 of them; *Cromwell* marches toward *Cumberland* to meet *Monroe*, ordering all the Parliament Commanders in those Counties to follow the flying *Scots*, by some of whom M. G. *Middleton*, who commanded 400 Horse was defeated, and taken Prisoner, and the rest dispersed. *Hamilton* himself was seized at *Uxeter* by the L. Grey of *Groby*, and sent Prisoner to *Ashby de la Zoah*.

In this Fight the *English* took more Prisoners than their whole Army amounted to; the Ensigns and Colours here taken, were after hung up in *Westminster*-Hall. Sir *Mar. Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn, *Cromwell* improves this success, and comes to *Durham* to look on *Monroe*, supposed to be about 6000 strong; but the *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland* having now recovered the power, command him to return, which he obeys more for fear of the *English* than dutifulness to them, and joining with the E. of *Lanerick*, both together made up 8000 Horse and Foot to oppose whom, the Presbyterians provided an Army, whereof the E. of *Argile* was Commander in Chief, and *David Lesly* Lieutenant General. *Cromwel* enters *Scotland*, and publishes this Declaration; *Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of* England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy who lately invaded the Kingdom of* England, *for the recovery of the Garrisons of* Berwick *and* Carlile; *These are to declare, that if any Officer or Souldier under my command shall take or demand any money, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, he shall be Tried, and punished with death by a Council of War.* *Argile*, *Lowdon*, *Leven*, and other of the *Scots* Nobility repair to *Cromwell* and contract with him for subduing the publick Enemy, and so much was he feared in *Scotland*, that this Agreement was consented to, 1. *That the Armies under* Argile, *and the other under* Lanerick, *and* Monroe, *with all the Forces in any of the Garrisons in* Scotland *be disbanded, and* Berwick *and* Carlile *be delivered to the* English. 2. *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad,*

ndered by the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil Differences be referred to a Parl. speedily to be called. 4. That party that were in the last engagements against Eng. be of the ex Parl. or of the General Assembly; And so *Cromwell* returns into *England* after he had been Feasted and Treated at *Edenburg*, and highly carressed by the States of *Scotland* with all expressions of Honour, and in *York-shire* he was desired by the Committee to reduce *Scarborough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was afterwards performed.

Colchester had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such scarcity of Provision, that they had not horse flesh enough to serve them for one day, that being the food which they had fed on for almost a fornight, and purchased with much blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses, and now perceiving all hopes of succor utterly frustrated, were necessitated to yield upon these conditions; that the *Common Souldiers depart with life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals disposal, he to exempt from mercy whom he pleased, the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raise* 1400 *pound to preserve it from plunder; the Prisoners of Quality were the L.* Goring, Capel & Loughborough, 11 Kn. 12 Col. 8. Lieut. Col. 9. Maj. 8 Cap. and 65 Gentle. the common Prisoners were about 3000; 3 of the Kn. were condemned by a Coun. of War, Sir *Cha. Lucas*, Sir *G.* Lisle and Sir *Ber. Gascoyn* a Papist, the last was repreived, and the other 2 were shot to death, the first having (as *Fairf.* said in his Letter to the Parl.) contrary to his promise not kept his word with them, the second accused to have directed the shooting of Poysoned bullets contrary to the Law of Arms; and so *Fairf.* after much loss of Time and Men, and difficult service for a Quarter of a year, against the valiant defence of the besieged, took possession of *Colchester*, Aug. 27. 1648. After which he marches up and down the County of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Hertford* to settle Peace, and visit the Garrisons, and so returns to St. *Albans* his Head Quarter. And thus endeth the Military Actions of this Year.

Whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Par. received Petitions from several Counties for a Treaty with the K. and among others one from *London*, withal desiring the release of their Alderman, *Gayer*, *Langham*, *Bunch*, and Serj. *Glyn*, which the House agreed to, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of Pembroke, Suffolk, & Middlesex & the Lords *Berkley*, *Hunsden*, *Maynard*, Willoughby of Parham, & the 11 Impeached Memb. and now they apply

apply themselves to the business so much desired; the E. of Middlesex, *Sir* J. Hipsley, *& Mr.* Bunkley *were sent to the K. to let him know the Parl. Intentions; who returned with his desires; upon which Per. voted, That the Votes of Non Addresses should be recalled; That such Persons as the K. should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted; That he be in the same state of Freedom as at Hampton Court with such Servants as he desires, that 5 Lords and 10 Commons be chosen Commissioners to treat with the K. & the place to be Newport in the Isle of* Wight, *and that the K. be admitted to invite the Scots thereinto, but to treat only concerning that Kingdom. These votes were sent down to the K. who was to treat Personally with the following Commissioners; the Earls of* Salisbury, Pembroke, Middlesex, Northumberland, *& the L.* Say *for the House of L. the L.* Wainman, *Mr.* Pierpoint, *Sir* H. Vane *the younger, Sir* Har. Grimston, *Sir* Potts, *Mr.* Brown, *Mr.* Crew, *& Mr.* Bulkley, *(with Mr.* [illegible] *and Mr.* Glyn, *lately readmitted into the House) for the Commons. Mon. Sept.* 8. 1648. *the Treaty began, the Propositions were in num.* 11. 1. *For calling in all Declarations, which the K.* assented with this proviso, *That neither this Concession, nor any other should be taken advantage of, unless the whole were concluded.* 2. *In reference to the settlement of the Church, to which the K. condescends, to settle the Directory, to pass an Act to conform the Assembly, & to establish Presby. Govern. for* 3 *years, reserving liberty to himself, & his Family to use the old form, but would not agree to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, Hierarchy, nor the selling their Lands.* 3. *For setting the Militia in the hands of the Par. for* 20 *years solely, to which the K. assented, & likewise to the fourth Proposition for making void the Cessation in* Ireland, *& permitting the Government of it both civil and Military to the 2 Houses at* West. *and to the* 5 *and* 6 *for nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of publick Debts. To the* 7 *Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament pretended great severity, the King was contented, that they should be fined and prohibited Access to Council or Court without the Parl. consent. That they be deprived for* 3 *years of their Right in sitting in Parl. and brought to Tryal, and if the* 2 *Houses think fit, or suffer according to their merit where they should be legally convicted; but he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away their Lands or Possessions, nor any others, but such as after a legal Tryal shall be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.* 8*ly*, *the Parl.* be impowered to confer all Offices of the K *& chief Magistrates for* [illegible] *years, the ninth for confirming the new great Seal with all Grants and Commissions settled by it; The tenth for confirming all Privileges, Grants, Charters, and Immunities; with Power to the City of London to dispose of their Militia & the Tower & all Citizens to be exempted from Military Service, out of the Liberties, unless at the Parl. appointment.*

All these Propositions were fully consented to; & likewise that for total exterminating *the Court of Wards*, provided that 100 *Pound* might be yearly paid to the K. by way of compensation,

Mar. of *Ormond* had got back into *Ireland*, & raised Forces there in opposition to the Par. by the K. Commission, but the K. assured the Commissioners, *That if the Treaty should take effect, the* Irish *Affairs should be managed at the discretion of the 2 Houses only*; The K. having thus far complied with the Par. they likewise at his desire Vote; *That he be in Honour, Freedom, and Safety according to the Laws: That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the dedications of such Forts & Garrisons as were of old accustomed to be allowed maintenance; that he have Compensation for the Court of Wards; That an Act of Oblivion and Pardon be past*; Most men thought now that the K. and Par. would have united, and so in all likelyhood they had; nothing being in difference but only the business of Episcopacy; but all this is broken off by the Armies Interposal, who could not think themselves secure so long as the K. lived, and therefore to find other work for the Par. they first send up for their Arrears amounting to a vast sum of money, which whilst the 2 Houses were debating, they prepare a Petition, *That scrutiny be taken for the discovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice may be done upon them; That the same fault may have the same punishment in the Person of King or Lord, as in the Person of the worst Commoner; That such as speak or act on the K. behalf, till he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood be proceeded against as Traitors*, &c.

When this would not do, the Army draw nearer, and taking up their Head quarters at *Windsor*, conclude on a Remonstrance which they send up to the Par. requiring. 1. *That the K. be brought to Justice as the Capital Cause of all the evils of the Civil War*; 2. *That a Peremptory day be set, for summoning the P. of* Wales *&* D. *of* York; *& if they refuse to appear to declare them incapable of Govern. or Succession, and stand exiled as Traitors; & if they render themselves yet to be provided against for satisfaction; that the Revenues of the Crown be sequestred.* 3. *That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the last Wars. And lastly they conclude, desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence, of easing the Country of Free Quarter; and desire that a Period may be put to this Parl. and good care taken to elect a new Representative*; In the mean time G. *Fairfax* commands C. *Hammond* to deliver up the K. to C. *Ewer*, by whom he is conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst Castle*, *Nov.* 30. 1648. And all this contrary to the Intentions of the Par. who Voted; *That the seizing upon the Person of the K. and the carrying him Prisoner to* Hurst Castle *was without the Advice & Consent of the 2 Houses. And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the House of L. vote, That the K. Concessions are a sufficient ground for Peace, & forthwith adjourn; and the Major part of the Com. do the same; but the Army being now come up to* Lond. *resolve to hinder these Proceedings, and therefore discharge the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parl. and order* Col. Prides *&* Riches *Regiments to supply their places by whom above 40 Memb. of the Com. coming to the House, were seized and sent to an Inn called* Hell *from thence to the* Kings-Head *near* Charing-cross, *&* so

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to

to the *Swan* in the *Strand*, & not ſatisfied with this, the Army accuſed M. G. *Brown*, & above 90 Memb. for inviting in the *Scots* the laſt Summer, & therefore deſired they might be excluded the Houſe; which the Com. being angry, adjourn *Dec.* 8. for 4 or 5 days, in which ſpace the Army is buſied in deviſing a *New way of Govern.* & the Commit. at *Whit.* move, *That this preſent P. be diſſolved the laſt of April next, & that the Repreſentatives of the whole Nation ſhall conſiſt of 300 Perſons, half of which number ſhall ſuffice to make any Act a Law, and that in the Intervals of Par. a Coun. of State ſhall govern*; and this Declaration, with about ten other Modifications, they ſtile, *The agreement of the People*; which was afterward preſented to the H. of Com. by Sir *H. Waller*, & 16 Officers; the Houſe new modelled by excluding ſuch a number of Memb. meet again and null the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, & thoſe others which approved of the K. Conceſſions, & vote *That no Meſſage be received from the K. upon pain of Treaſon*; That Fair. *take care of the K. and that the Coun. of War draw up a charge gainſt him*; ſo that now they are reſolved upon his Tryal, and accordingly orders are iſſued out for his removal.

Dec. 13. 1648. The K. was brought from *Hurſt Caſtle* with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe to *Wincheſter*, afterward to *Wind* in the mean time the 2 Hou. differ; the Com. aſſert, *That it is Treaſon for the K. to levy war againſt the Commonwealth*, & the L. deny, *That the K. can commit Treaſon againſt the Commonw.* & therefore reject the Ordinance of the Com. for his Tryal, and declare *That no Act of the Com. is binding without their conſent*; upon which the Com. Vote, *That all Memb. & others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered & enjoined to ſit, act, & execute, notwithſtanding the H. of Peers joined not with them*. And ſo earneſt were both the Com. & the Army about it, that the Q. deſiring to ſee her Husband before his Tryal; could not obtain a Pa. for her ſecure coming & going, *Jan.* 4. the Com. being turned into G. Commit. paſs theſe following Votes, 1. *That the Peo. under God are the Original of all juſt power.* 2. *That the Com. of* Eng. *Aſſembled in Par. being choſen by, & repreſenting the Pe. have the Supream Auth. of the Nat.* 3 *That whatſoever is enacted and declared for Law by the Com. aſſembled in Par. hath the force of a Law.* 4 *That all the Pe. of this Nation are included thereby, altho the conſent & concurrence of the H. of Peers be not had thereto* 5 *That to raiſe Arms againſt the Peo. Repre. or Par. & to make War upon them is H. T.* 6. *That the King himſelf took Arms againſt the Par. & upon that account is guilty of the bloodſhed throughout the Civil W. & that he ought to expiate the Crime with his own blood*. After this they proceeded to make a pretended Act for the Tryal of the K. & notwithſtanding the diſſenting of the Houſe of L. & the Remonſtrances of the *Sco.* Par. againſt it; the Com. erect a new Illeg. Tribunal which they call *The H. Court of Juſt.* who are impowered to convene, hear, Judge and execute *C. Stuart* K. of *En.* & *Jan.* 6. The Ordinance for the K. Tryal was Ingroſſed, which they intituled, *An Act of the Com. of En. aſſembled in Par. for erecting an H. C. of Juſt for the Try. & Judging of* C. Stuart *King of* England, *which was in the form following.*

Where

The King goes from Oxford in disguise 164

The Illegall. Tryall of King Charles the Ist

The Martyrdom of King Charles 164

Whereas *it is notorious, That* Charles Stuart *the now King of* England, *not content with those many Encroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their* Rights *and* Freedoms, *hath had a wicked design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberty of this Nation: And in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, with fire and sword levyed and maintained a cruel War in the Land, against the Parliament and Kingdom; whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, and thousands of People murthered, and infinite of other mischiefs committed: For which High and Treasonable Offences, the said* Charles Stuart *might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign punishment: Whereas also the Parliament well hoped that the restraint and imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quieted the disturbers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him: But found by sad experience, that such remissives served only to encourage him and his Complices, in the Continuance of their evil practices, and in raising of new Commotions, Designs, and Invasions; For prevention therefore of the like greater inconveniencies, and to the end, that no Magistrate or Officer whatsoever, may hereafter presume traiterously or maliciously to imagine or contrive the inslaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity in so doing:*

Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament assembled, and it is hereby Ordained and Enacted by the Authority thereof: That Thomas *L. F. O. C. &c.*—— ——

shall be, and hereby are appointed Commissioners, and Judges, for Hearing, Trying, and Judging of the said Charles Stuart, *and the said Commissioners or any Twenty or more of them shall, and are hereby Authorized and Constituted an High* Court *of Justice, to meet at such convenient times and places as by the said Commissioners, or the major part, or twenty, or more of them, under their Hands and Seals shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the great Hall or* Palace-yard *of Westminster; and adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as the said High Court, or the major part there-*

of meeting ſhould hold fit, and to take Order for charging of him the ſaid Charles Stuart *with the Crimes above-mentioned, and for the receiving his Perſonal Anſwer thereunto, and for Examination of Witneſſes upon Oath (if need be) concerning the ſame; and thereupon, or in default of ſuch Anſwer, to proceed to final Sentence according to Juſtice, and the nature of the Cauſe, and to be Executed ſpeedily and Impartially*, &c.

Preſently after this was publiſhed, a Proclamation was made, *That thoſe who had any thing to ſay againſt the King ſhould have a hearing given them:* This was proclaimed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by the Serjeant at Arms to the Commiſſioners, Riding into the Hall with his Mace attended with ſix Trumpeters and other Officers, who likewiſe rode bare into the Hall with him, the Drums of the Guard beating in the mean time without in the *Palace yard*. And the day after Proclamation was made to the ſame effect in *Cheapſide* and at the *Old Exchange*: And in order to this grand Tryal, *Hillary Term* which uſually begins *Jan.* 23. was adjourned for fourteen days; The Houſe of Lords refuſing to concur with the Commons in their Ordinance for the Kings Tryal, the Commons diſſolve and Vote, *That all Members and others appointed to Act in any Ordinance, are impowered and enjoyned to Sit, Act and Execute, notwithſtanding the Houſe of Peers joyn not with them.*

And now the Miniſters in general, and the Preſbyterians likewiſe, who had been active againſt the Kings Cauſe, declare themſelves both in their Pulpits and by carrying Petitions to the Parliament, to be zealous abhorrers of the Kings death, and every where publickly proteſt against this Tryal; The Nobility likewiſe offer themſelves Pledges on the Kings behalf; and the People univerſally ſeem greatly troubled and aſtoniſht: Notwithſtanding which the Houſe of Commons and the Army went ſeperately on, and a New and Illegal Tribunal called *High Court of Juſtice* was erected, the Commiſſioners whereof met in the *Painted Chamber* to conſult the courſe to take about the Trial of the King.

Fryday Jan. 19. 1648. the King was brought with a ſtrong Guard of Horſe fro[m] *Wi[n]ſ[o]r* to St. *James's*, and the next day Serjeant *Bradſhaw* Preſident of the pretended *High Court of Juſtice*, with about ſeventy of the Members of the ſaid Court, having Coll. *Fox* and ſixteen Gentlemen with Partizans and a Sword born by Coll. *Humphrey*, and a Mace by Serj. *Dandy*, with their and other Officers of the ſaid Court marching before them, came to the place ordered to be prepared for their ſitting at the Weſt end of the Great Hall in *Weſtminſter*; where the Lord Preſident in a Crimſon Velvet Chair fixed in the midſt of the Court, placed himſelf having a Deſk with a Crimſon Velvet Cuſhion before him: The reſt of the Members placing themſelves on each ſide of him, upon the ſeveral Seats or Benches prepared and hung with Scarlet for that purpoſe, and the Partizans dividing themſelves on each ſide of the Court before them.

The Court being thus ſet, and ſilence made, the great Gate of the ſaid Hall was ſet open, to the end, That all Perſons without exception, deſirous to ſee, or hear, might come into it; upon which the Hall was preſently filled, and Silence again ordered.

This done Colonel *Thomlinſon*, who had the charge of the King, as a Priſoner, was commanded to bring him to the Court who within a quarter of an hours ſpace brought him attended with about twenty Officers with Partizans marching before him, there being Coll. *Hacker* and other Gentlemen, to whoſe care and Cuſtody he was likewiſe committed, marching in his Rear.

Being thus brought up within the face of the Court, the Serjeant at Arms, with his Mace, receives and conducts him ſtraight to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was ſet for the King. After a ſtern looking upon the Court and the people in the Galleries on each ſide of him, he places himſelf, not at all moving his Hat, or otherwiſe ſhewing the leaſt reſpect to the Court, but preſently ſits up again, and turns about looking downwards upon the Guards placed on the left ſide, and on the multitude

of Spectators on the right ſide of the ſaid great Hall. After Silence made among the People the Act of Parliament for the Trying of *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, was read over by the Clerk of the Court; who ſat on one ſide of the Table covered with a rich Turkey Carpet, and placed at the feet of the ſaid Lord Preſident, upon which Table was alſo laid the Sword and Mace.

After reading the ſaid Act, the ſeveral Names of the Commiſſioners were called over, every one was preſent, riſing up, and anſwering to his Call.

The King having again placed himſelf in his Chair with his face towards the Court, Silence being again ordered, the Lord Preſident ſtood up and ſaid:

Preſident. *CHARLES STUART* King of *England.* The Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, being deeply ſenſible of the Calamities that have been brought upon this Nation (which is fixed upon you, as the Principal Author of them) have reſolved to make inquiſition for Blood, and according to that Debt and Duty they owe to Juſtice, to God, the Kingdom, and themſelves, and according to the Fundamental Power that reſts in themſelves, They have reſolved to bring you to Tryal and Judgment; and for that purpoſe have conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice, before which you are brought.

This ſaid Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General for the Common-wealth (ſtanding within a Bar on the right hand of the King offered to ſpeak; but the King having his Staff in his hand, held it up, and laid it upon the ſaid Mr. *Cook*'s ſhoulder two or three times, bidding him hold, Nevertheleſs, the Lord Preſident ordering him to go on; he ſaid:

Cook. My Lord I am commanded to charge *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, in the name of the Commons of *England*, with Treaſon and high Miſdemeanours; I deſire the ſaid Charge may be read.

The ſaid Charge being delivered to the Clerk of the Court, the Lord Preſident ordered it ſhould be read

but the King bid him hold; Nevertheleſs, being commanded by the Lord Preſident to read it, the Clerk began.

The Charge of the Commons of England *againſt* CHARLES STUART *King of* England, *of High Treaſon, and other High Crimes, exhibited to the High Court of Juſtice.*

THat the ſaid *Charles Stuart* being admitted King of *England*, and therein truſted with a Limited Power, to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land and not otherwiſe; and by his Truſt, Oath, and Office being obliged to uſe the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect, and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People; Yea, to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redreſs and remedy of miſgovernment, which by the fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom were reſerved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments or National meetings in Councel; He, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, for accompliſhment of ſuch his Deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf and his adherents, in His and their wicked practices to the ſame end hath traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and the people therein repreſented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred forty and two, at *Beverly* in the County of *York*; And upon or about the thirtieth day of *July*, in the year aforeſaid in the County of the City of *York*; and upon, or about the Twenty fourth day of *Auguſt* in the ſame year, at the County of the Town of *Nottingham*, (when and where he ſet up his Standard of War,) and upon

'or about the twenty third day of *October*, in the same 'year, at *Edge-Hill*, and *Kenton-field*, in the County of 'Warwick; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of *Nov.* 'in the same year, at *Brainford* in the County of *Middle-* 'sex: And upon or about the thirtieth day of *Aug.* in 'the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred forty 'and three at *Caversham-Bridge* near *Reading*, in the Coun- 'ty of *Berks*: And upon or about the thirtieth day of 'October, in the year last mentioned, at, or near the City 'of *Gloucester*; And upon, or about the thirtieth day of 'November, in the year last mentioned, at *Newberry*, in 'the County of *Berks*; and upon, or about the one and 'thirtieth day of *July*, in the year of our Lord, One thou- 'sand six hundred forty and four, at *Cropredy-Bridge*, in 'the County of *Oxon*; And upon, or about the thirtieth 'day of *September*, in the last year mentioned at *Bodmin* 'and other places near adjacent, in the County of *Corn-* 'wall; And upon or about the thirtieth day of *November* 'in the last year mentioned, at *Newberry* aforesaid: And 'upon or about the Eighth of *June*, in the year of our 'Lord, One thousand six hundred forty and and five, at the 'Town of *Leicester*; and also upon the fourteenth day 'of the same moneth, in the same year, at *Naseby field* in 'the County of *Northampton*. At which several times and 'places, or most of them, and at many other places in 'this Land, at several other times, within the years afore- 'mentioned: And in the year of our Lord, One thou- 'sand six hundred forty and six: He the said *Ch. Stuart* 'hath caused and procured many thousands of Free-Peo- 'ple of the Nation to be slain; and by Divisions, parties 'and insurrections, within this Land, by Invasions from 'Foreign parts, endeavoured and procured by him 'and by many other evil ways and means; He the said 'Charles Stuart hath not only maintained and carried 'on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the 'years before mentioned; but also hath renewed or caus- 'ed to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament 'and good people of this Nation, in this present year 'One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Coun- 'ti

ties of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, *Middleſex*, and many other Counties and places in *England* and *Wales*, and alſo by Sea: and particularly, He the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath for that purpoſe, given Commiſſion to his Son the Prince and others; whereby, beſides multitudes of other perſons, many ſuch, as were by the Parliament intruſted and imployed for the ſafety of the Nation, being by Him or His Agents, Corrupted, to the betraying of Their Truſt, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commiſſion, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hoſtility, againſt the ſaid Parliament and people as aforeſaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars by Him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, levyed, continued, and renewed, as aforeſaid, much Innocent Blood of the Free-People of this Nation hath been ſpilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treaſury waſted and exhauſted. Trade obſtructed, and miſerably decayed, vaſt expence, and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land ſpoyled, ſome of them even to Deſolation.

'And for further proſecution of his ſaid evil Deſigns ſtill, the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, doth ſtill continue his Commiſſions to the ſaid Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters, both Engliſh and Forreigners and to the Earl of *Ormond* and to the *Iriſh* Rebels and Revolters aſſociated with him; from whom further Invaſions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the ſaid *Charles Stuart*.

'All which wicked deſigns, Wars, and evil practices of him the ſaid *Charles Stuart*, have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the perſonal Intereſt of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to Himſelf and his Family, againſt the publick Intereſt, Common Right, Liberty, Juſtice, and Peace of the people of this Nation, by, and for whom he was entruſted; as aforeſaid.

'By all which it appeareth, that he the ſaid *Charles Stuart* hath been, and is the Occaſioner, Author, and Contriver of the ſaid Unnatural, Cruel and Bloody

'Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murth
'Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage a
'Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the s
'Wars, or occasioned thereby.

'And the said *John Cook*, by protestation (saving
'the behalf of the people of *England*, the liberty of e
'hibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge again
'the said *Charles Stuart*, and also of replying to the A
'swers which the said *Ch. Stuart* shall make to the Pr
'misses, or any of them, or any other Charge that sh
'be so Exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crime
'on the behalf of the said people of *England*, Impea
'the said *Charles Stuart* as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer
'and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commo
'wealth of *England*: And pray, that the said *CHARLE*
'*STUART*, King of *England*, may be put to answe
'All, and every the Premises; That such Proceeding
'Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgmen
'may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Ju
'stice.

IT is observed, That the time the Charge was reading, the Kin
sate down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the Court, some
times up to the Galleries, and having risen again, and turne labou
to behold the Guards and Spectators, sate down, looking ver
sternly, with a countenance not at all moved, till these words
viz. *Charles Stuart* (to be a *Tyrant* and *Traitor*, &c.) were rea
at which he laughed as he sate in the face of the Court.

Charge being read, the Lord President replyed;

President. Sir, you have now heard your Charge read
containing such matters as appear in it; you find, That
in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court, in the behalf o
the *Commons* of *England*, that you answer to your Charge
The Court expects your Answer.

King. 'I would know by what Power I am called hi
'ther? I was not long ago, in the *Isle of Wight*, how
'came there, is a longer story than I think is fit at thi
'time for me to speak of; but there I entred into a *Tru*
'ty with both Houses of *Parliament*, with as much publick
'faith as 'tis possible to be had of any people in the
'world,

world. I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say but they did very nobly with me, we were upon a conclusion of the Treaty. Now I would know by what Authority, I mean, lawful; there are many unlawful Authorities in the world. Thieves and Robbers by the high ways; but I would know by what Authority I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what;) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer: Remember I am your King, and what sins you bring upon your heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land; think well upon it, I say, think well upon it, before you go further from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here, and I shall not be unwilling to answer; in the mean time I shall not betray my Trust. I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful Descent, I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful Authority, therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me.

President. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you, by the Court, at your first coming hither, you woud have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you in the name of the people of *England*, of which you are Elected King, to answer them.

King, 'No Sir, I deny that.

President. If you acknowledg not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. 'I do tell them so, *England* was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near these thousand years, therefore let me know by what Authority I am called hither: I do stand more for the Liberty of my people than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seated here and I will answer it, otherwise I will not answer it.

President. Sir how really you have managed your Trust

is

is known: your way of answer is to interrogate the Court which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. 'Here is a Gen leman, (Lieut. Coll. *Cobbet*, ask 'him if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by 'force? I do not come here as submitting to the Court; 'I will stand as much for the Priviledge of the House of 'Commons, rightly understood, as any man here whatso- 'ever. I see no House of Lords here that may con- 'stitute a Parliament, and the King too) should have 'been. Is this the bringing of the King to his Parlia- 'ment? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty in the 'publick Faith of the world? Let me see a legal Autho- 'rity warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or 'warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, and I 'will answer.

President. Sir, You have propounded a Question, and have been answered: seeing you will not answer, the Court will consider how to proceed; in the mean time, those that brought you hither, are to take charge of you back again.

The Court desires to know whether this be all the Answer you will give or no?

King. 'Sir, I desire that you would give me, and all 'the world, satisfaction in this; let me tell you, it is not 'a slight thing you are about. I am sworn to keep the 'Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and 'I will do it to the last breath of my body, and there- 'fore you shall do well to satisfie first God, and then the 'Country, by what Authority you do it; if you do it by an 'usurped Authority, that will not last long. There is a 'God in Heaven that will call you, and all that give you 'power, to account: Satisfie me in that, and I will an- 'swer, otherwise I betray my trust and the Liberties 'of the People; and therefore think of that, and then 'I shall be willing. For I do avow, that it is as great a 'sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it is to submit to 'a Tyrannical, or any other ways unlawful Authority; 'and therefore satisfie God, and me, and all the World in 'that

'that, and you ſhall receive my Anſwer: I am not afraid 'of the Bill.

Preſident. The Court expects you ſhould give them a final Anſwer; their purpoſe is to adjourn till Monday next, if you do not ſatisfie your ſelf, though we do tell you our Authority; we are ſatisfied with our Authority, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms, and that peace you ſpeak of will be kept in the doing of Juſtice, and that's our preſent work.

King. 'Let me tell you. if you will ſhew me what 'lawful Authority you have, I ſhall be ſatisfied: But 'that you have hitherto ſaid, ſatisfies no reaſonable 'man.

Preſident. That's in your apprehenſion; we think it reaſonable that are your *Judges*.

King. 'Tis not my apprehenſion, nor yours neither 'that ought to dicide it.

Preſident. The Court hath heard you, and you are to be diſpoſed of as they have commanded.

Two things were remarkable in this days proceedings.

1. It is obſerved, That as the Charge was reading againſt the King, the ſilver head of his Staff fell off, the which he wondered at, and then; none to take it up, he ſtooped for it himſelf, and put it in his pocket.

2. That as the King was going away, he looking with a very auſtere countenance upon the Court, without ſtirring of his Hat reply'ed, *Well Sir*, (when the L. *Preſident* commanded the Guard to take him away) and at his going down, he ſaid *I do not fear that* (pointing with his Saff at the Sword.) The People in the Hall, as he went down the ſtairs cryed out, ſome, *God ſave the King*, and ſome for *Juſtice*.

O yes being called, the Court adjourned till Monday next *January* 22 at 9. in the morning to the Painted Chamber, and from thence to the ſame place again in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

January 21. being Sunday, the Commiſſioners kept a Faſt at *White-Hall*, there Preached Mr. *Spigge*, his Text was, *He that ſheds Mans blood, by Man ſhall his blood be ſhed*: next Mr. *Foxely*, his Text, *Judge not, leſt you be*

judged

judged. Last, was Mr. *Peters*, his Text was, *I will bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron.*

At the High-Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, *Monday, Jan.* 22. 1648.

O Yes made: Silence commanded: The Court called, and answered to their Names.

Silence commanded upon pain of imprisonment, and the Captian of the Guard to apprehend all such as make disturbance.

Upon the Kings coming in a shout was made.

Command given by the Court to the Captain of the Guard, to fetch and take into his custody those who make any disturbance.

Mr. *Solicitor.* May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the Court in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, exhibit and give into this Court a Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes, against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, he was not then pleased to give an Answer, but in stead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My humble Motion to this High Court in behalf of the People of *England*, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which if he shall refuse to do, the matter of Charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

President. Sir, You may remember at the last Court, you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge against you containing a Charge of high Treason, and other high Crimes, against this Realm of *England*; you heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an answer to that Charge, that thereupon such proceeding might be had, as should be agreeable to Justice; you were then pleased to make some scru-

ples

ples concerning the Authority of this Court and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often anſwered, that it was by Authority of the *Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament*, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe high and capital miſdemeanours wherewith you were then charged. Since that, the Court had taken into Conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied with it too; & they do require it, that you do give a poſitive & particular Anſwer to this Charge that is exhibited againſt you; they do expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny it; if you deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Nation to be made good againſt you; their Authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied in, and you are to reſt ſatisfied with it, and therefore you are to loſe no more time, but to give a poſitive Anſwer thereunto.

King. 'When I was here laſt, 'tis true I made that 'Queſtion, and truly if it were only my own particular 'caſe, I would have ſatisfied my ſelf with the Proteſtation 'I made the laſt time I was here, againſt the Legality of 'this Court, and that a King cannot be tryed by any Superiour Juriſdiction on Earth; but it is not my caſe alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the people of *England*; and do you pretend what you will, I ſtand more for their Liberties; For if power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England*, that can be ſure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore when that I came here, I did expect particular Reaſons to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed againſt me here, and therefore I am a little to ſeek what to ſay to you in this particular, becauſe the Affirmitive is proved, the Negative often is very hard to do: but ſince I cannot perſwade you to do it, I ſhall tell you my Reaſons as ſhort as I can.

'My

'My Reasons why in conscience, and the duty I 'owe to God first, and my people next, for the pre-'servation of their Lives, Liberties and Estates; I con-'ceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the le-'gality of it.

Here the King would have delivered his Reasons.

All proceedings against any man what-'soever.——

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice; you are about to enter into Argument, and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent; if you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit unto it, you are to give in a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will answer to your Charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. 'Sir, by your favour. I do not know the forms 'of Law, I do know Law and Reason, though I am no 'Lawyer profess'd; yet I know as much Law as any 'Gentleman in *England*, and therefore (under favour) 'I do plead for the Liberties of the People of *England* 'more than you do, and therefore if I should impose 'a belief upon any man without Reasons given for it, 'it were unreasonable; but I must tell you, That by 'that Reason that I have as thus informed, I cannot yield 'unto it.

President. Sir, I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted; you spake of Law and Reason; it is fit there should be Law and Reason, and there is both against you. Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are these too that have given that Law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned. Sir, you are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King

King. 'I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent; not by any Law that ever I heard of, all men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any proceedings as Legal, and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons; if you deny that, you deny Reason.

President. Sir, you have offered something to the Court, I shall speak something unto you the sense of the Court; Sir, neither you nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded you may not debate the Jurisdiction of the Court; if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors, and you are responsible to them.

King. 'I deny that; shew me one President ——

President. Sir, you ought not to interrupt, while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. 'I say Sir, by your favour, that the Commmons of *England* was never a Court of Judicature; I would know how they came to be so.

President. Sir, you are not permitted to go on in that speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth.

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *You have been accused on the behalf of the People of* England *of High Treason, and other High Crimes; the Court have determined, that you ought to answer the same.*

King. 'I will answer the same as soon as I know by what Authority you do this

President. If this be all that you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King.

King. 'I do require that I may give in my Rea-'ſons why I do not Anſwer, and give me time for that.

Preſident. Sir, 'Tis not for Priſoners to require.

King. 'Priſoners! Sir, I am not an ordinary Priſoner.

Preſident. The Court hath conſidered of their Juriſdiction, and they have already affirmed their Juriſdiction, if you will not anſwer, we ſhall give order to record your default.

King. 'You never heard my Reaſons yet.

Preſident. Sir, your Reaſons are not to be heard againſt the higheſt Juriſdiction.

King. 'Shew me that Juriſdiction, where Reaſon is 'not to be heard.

Priſident. Sir, We ſhew it you here, the Commons of *England*; and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleaſure of the Court, and it may be their final determination.

King. 'Shew me wherever the Houſe of Commons 'was a Court of Judicature of that kind.

Preſident. Serjeant, take away the Priſoner.

King. Well Sir, Remember that the King is not ſuf-'fered to give his Reaſons for the Liberty and Freedom 'of all his Subjects.

Preſident. Sir, You are not to have liberty to uſe this language; how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England* and the World judge.

King. 'Sir, under favour, it was the Liberty, Free-'dom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took—— 'defended my ſelf with Arms; I never took up Arms 'againſt the People, but for my people and the Laws.

Preſident. The command of the Court muſt be obeyed; no Anſwer will be given to the Charge.

King. Well Sir.

Then the Lord Preſident ordered the default to be recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no anſwer will be given to the Charge.

And ſo was guarded forth to S *Robert Cotton's* houſe.

Then

Then the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber on Tueſdy at twelve a clock, and from thence they intended to adjourn to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at which time all perſons concerned were to give their attendance.

Reſolutions of the Court at their meeting in the Painted Chamber, Lunæ Jan. 22. 1648.

This day the King being withdrawn from the Bar of the High Court of Juſtice, the Commiſſioners of the ſaid High Court of Juſtice ſate private in the Painted Chamber, and conſidered of the Kings carriage upon the *Saturday* before, and of all that had then paſſed, and fully approved of what the *Lord Preſident* had done and ſaid in the managing of the buſineſs of that day, as agreeing to their ſenſe. And perceiving what the King aimed at, *viz.* to bring in queſtion (if he could) the Juriſdiction of the Court, and the Authority thereof, whereby they ſate; and conſidering that in the interim he had not acknowledged them in any ſort to be a Court or his Judges; and through their ſides intended to wound (if he might be permittted) the Supream Authority of the Commons of *England*, in their Repreſentatives the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after advice with their Council learned in both Laws, and mature deliberation had of the matter:

Reſolved, That the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts Juriſdiction, of that which conſtituted them a Court, of which debate they had not proper Conuſance, nor could they, being a derivative Judge of that Supream Court which made them Judges, from which there was no Appeal, and did therefore order and direct, *viz.*

Ordered, That in caſe the King ſhall again offer to diſpute the Authority of the Court; the *Lord Preſident* do let him know that the Court have taken into conſideration his demands of the laſt day, and that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer; That the Commons of *England* aſſembled in Parliament have conſtituted this Court, whoſe power may not, nor ſhould be permitted to be diſputed by him. That

That in case the King shall refuse to answer or acknowledge the Court, the *Lord President* do let him know that the Court will take it as a Contumacy, and that it shall be so recorded.

That in case he shall offer or answer with a *saving*, notwithstanding of his pretended Prerogatives above the jurisdiction of the Court, That the *Lord President* do in the Name of the Court refuse his protest, and require his positive Answer whether he will own the Court or not.

That in case a King shall demand a Copy of the Charge, that he shall then declare his intention to Answer, and that declaring his intention, a Copy be granted unto him.

That in case the King shall still persist in his contempt, the *Lord President* do give command to the Clerk, to demand of the Kings, in name of the Court, in these words following, *viz.*

Charles Stuart King of *England*, you are accused in the behalf of the People of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you. The Court requires you to give a positive answer, to confess or deny the Charge, having determined that you ought to answer the same.

At the High Court of Justice sitting in Westminster-Hall, *Tuesday Jan.* 23. 1648.

O yes made. Silence commanded. The Court called. Seventy three Persons present.

The King comes in with his Guard, looks with an austere countenance upon the Court, and sits down.

The second O yes made, and silence commanded.

Mr. *Cook* Solicitor General. May it please your Lordship my *Lord President*.

This is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of this High Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, before any Issue joyned in the Cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a Charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought upon the Theatre of *England*: that a King of *England* trusted

trusted to keep the Law, That had taken an Oath so to do That had Tribute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, in the defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against his Parliament and People; and I did humbly pray, in the behalf of the people of *England*, that he might speedily be required to make an answer to the Charge.

But, my Lord, instead of making any Answer, he did then dispute the Authority of this High Court; your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to consider, and to put in his Answer, which day being yesterday, I did humbly move that he might be required to give a direct and positive answer, either by denying, or confession of it; but (my Lord) he was then pleased for to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did over rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer. My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against him. My Lord, I might press your Lordship upon the whole, That according to the known Rules of the Law of the Land, That if a Prisoner shall stand as contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, Guilty or not Guilty of the Charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair Tryal; That as by an implicit confession, it may be taken *pro confesso*, as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour than the Prisoner at the Bar has done: but besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole Fact; the House of Commons, the Supream Authority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, that it is notorious, That the matter of the Charge is true, as it is in truth (my Lord) as clear as Chrystal and as the Sun that shines at noon-day; which if your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding, on the people of *Englands* behalf, several Witnesses to produce; And therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I must confess

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it is not ſo much I, as the Innocent Blood that hath been ſhed, the cry whereof is very great for Juſtice and Judgment, and therefore I do humbly pray, that ſpeedy *Judgment* be pronounced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar.

Preſident. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Council, on the behalf of the Kingdom againſt you. Sir, you may well remember, and if you do not, the Court cannot forget what dilatory dealings the Court hath found at your hand; you were pleaſed to propound ſome Queſtions, you have had your Reſolutions upon them. You were told over and over again, That the Court did affirm their own Juriſdiction: That it was not for you, nor any other man, to diſpute the *Juriſdiction of the Supream and Higheſt Authority of* England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute; yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as you gave no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the *High Court that conſtituted this Court of Juſtice.*

Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, That they are very ſenſible of theſe delays of yours, and that they ought not, being thus Authorized by the ſupream *Court of England* to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Juſtice, if they pleaſed, and according to the rules of Juſtice, take advantage of theſe delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment againſt you: yet nevertheleſs they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalfs I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this Charge that is againſt you, Sir, in plain terms; for Juſtice knows no reſpect of Perſons; you are to give your poſitive and final Anſwer in plain *Engliſh*, whether you be guilty or not guilty of theſe Treaſons laid to your Charge.

The King after a little pauſe ſaid,

'When I was here yeſterdy, I did deſire to ſpeak for 'the *Liberties of the people of* England; I was interrupted: 'I deſire to know yet whether I may ſpeak freely or 'not.

Preſident. Sir, you have had the Reſolution of the Court upon

the like Queſtion the laſt day, and you were told having ſuch a Charge of ſo high a Nature againſt your Work was, that you ought to acknowledge the diction of the Court, *and to anſwer to your Charge.* Sir, u anſwer to your Charge, which the Court gives you e now to do, though they might have taken the advan- of your Contempt, yet if you be able to Anſwer our Charge, when you have once anſwered, you ſhall eard at large, make the beſt Defence you can. But I muſt let you know from the Court, as their Com- nds, that you are not to be permitted to iſſue out any other diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have gi- a poſitive Anſwer concerning the *Matter* that is *Char-* upon you.

ing. 'For the *Charge* I value it not a Ruſh, it is the *ntry* of the people of *England* that I ſtand for; for e to acknowledge a new *Court*, that I never heard of fore, I that am your King, that ſhould be an example all the people of *England*, for to uphold Juſtice, to intain the old Laws; indeed I do not know how to it; you ſpoke very well the firſt day that I came here n *Saturday*) of the obligations that I had laid upon by God, to the maintenance of *the Liberties of my ple*: The ſame obligation you ſpeak of, I do acknow- ge to God that I owe to Him, and to my people to end as much as in me lies, the ancient Laws of the gdom; therefore, until that I may know that this not againſt the *Fundamental Laws* of the Kingdom, your favour, I can put in no particular Anſwer: If u will give me time, I will then ſhew you my Rea- s why I cannot do it, and this----

Here being interrupted, he ſaid,

'By your favour you ought not to interrupt me; how came here, I know not, there's no Law for it, to make our King your Priſoner: I was lately in a Treaty on the publick Faith of the Kingdom, that was the own—— — the two Houſes of Parliament, that s the Repreſentative of the Kingdom, and when that had almoſt made an end of the Treaty, then I was

'hurried

'hurried away, and brought hither; and therefo
——— ——— ——— Here the *President* interrupt
him and said, Sir, you must know the pleasure of t
Court.

King. , By your favour Sir. ———

President. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not
permitted to fall into these discourses; you appear as
Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority
the Court; the Court craves it not of you, and once mo
they command you to give your positive Answer ——
——— Clerk do your Duty.

King. 'Duty Sir!

The Clerk reads.

Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *you are accused in t
behalf the Commons of* England, *of divers high Crimes a
Treasons, which charge hath been read unto you; the Court n
requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way
confession, or denyal of the Charge.*

King. 'Sir; I say again to you, so that I might gi
'satisfaction to the people of *England* of the clearnes
'my proceedings, not by way of Answer, not in this w
'but to satisfie them that I have done nothing agai
'that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would
'it; but to acknowledge a New Court against their P
'viledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdo
'Sir, you must excuse me.

President. Sir, this is the Third time that you have p
lickly disowned the Court, and put an affront upon
how far you have preserved the Priviledges of the peop
your actions have spoke it; but truly Sir, mens inten
ons ought to be known by their Actions, you have w
ten your meaning in Bloody Characters throughout
whole Kingdom; but Sir, you understand the pleas
of the Court; ——— ——— ——— Clerk, Rec
the default ——— ——— ——— ——— and G
tlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner, take
back again.

King. 'I will only Stay this one word to you, I
'were only my own particular, I would not say
'more, or interrupt you.

Preſident. Sir, you have heard the pleaſure of the Court, nd you are (notwithſtanding you will not underſtand it) o find that you are before a Court of Juſtice.

Then the King went forth with his Guard, and Proclamation as made, That all Perſons who had then appeared, and had other to do at the Court, might depart into the Painted Chamber, to which place the Court did forthwith Adjourn, and intended to meet in Weſtminſter-Hall *by Ten of the Clock the next morning.*

Cryer. God bleſs the Kingdom of *England.*

His Majeſty intended to have delivered in writing is Reaſons againſt the Pretended Juriſdiction of the High ourt of Juſtice, upon Monday, *Jan.* 22. but was not ermitted.

Saturday the 27 *of* January, 1648.

O yes made, Silence commanded, The Court called: erjeant *Bradſhaw*, Lord *Preſident*, in his Scarlet Robe uitable to the work of this day) with Sixty Eight other embers of the Court called. As the K. came into the ourt, in his uſual poſture with his Hat on, a Cry made the Hall by ſome of the Souldiers for *Juſtice, Juſtice,* d *Execution.*

King. 'I ſhall deſire a word to be heard a little, and hope I ſhall give no occaſion of interruption.

Preſident. You may anſwer in your time, hear the ourt firſt.

King. 'If it pleaſe you Sir, I deſire to be heard, and I all not give any occaſion of interruption, and it is only in a word; a ſudden Judgment ———

Preſident. You ſhall be heard in due time, but You are hear the Court firſt.

King. 'Sir, I deſire it, it will be in order to what I elieve the Court will ſay; and therefore, Sir, a haſty udgment is not ſo ſoon recalled.

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall be heard before the Judgent be given: and in the mean time you may for-

King, 'Well Sir, ſhall I be heard before the Judgment given?

President. Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, That the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court to make answer to a Charge of Treason and other high Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of *England*; to which Charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from obeying the Commands of this Court by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and of the highest Court that constituted them to try and judge him; but being over ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit or Answer; Hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, to the trust reposed in them, nor that any mans wilfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their consideration; they have considered of the contumacy, and of the confession which in Law doth arise upon that Contumacy; They have likewise considered of the notoriety of the Fact charged upon the Prisoner, and upon the whole matter they are resolved, and have agreed upon Sentence to be now pronounced, against this Prisoner. But in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him; yet Sir, thus much I must tell you before hand, which you have been minded at other Courts; that if that you have to say be to offer any Debate concerning Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have indeed struck at the root, that is, the power and *Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them, that they should presume to judge upon their Superiority, from whom there is no Appeal. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your

Here an honourable Lady interrupted the Court saying, Not half the people, but she was soon silenced.

elf concerning the matters charged, the Court hath given me command to let you know they will hear you.

King. Since that I see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confeſs I thought moſt material for the peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subjects, I ſhall wave it, I ſhall ſpeak nothing to it; but only I muſt tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call more dear to me than my life, which is, *My Conſcience* and my *Honour*; and if I had reſpect to my life more than the Peace of the King, the *Liberty of the Subject*, certainly I ſhould have made a particular defence for my ſelf, for by that at leaſt-wiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſs upon me; Therefore certainly, Sir, as man that hath ſome underſtanding, ſome knowledge of the world, if that my true zeal to my Country had not overborn the care that I have of my own preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that an haſty Sentence once paſt may be ſooner repented than recalled: And truly the ſelf ſame deſire that I have for *the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject more than my own particular*, does make me now at laſt deſire, that having ſomething for to ſay that concerns both, I deſire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamb. before the Lords and Commons; this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatſoever I ſay, if that I ſay no Reaſon, thoſe that hear muſt be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that I have, if it be reaſon, and really for the *welfare of the Kingdom*; *and the Liberty of the Subject*, I am ſure on it very well, it is worth the hearing; Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that you pretend, I hope it is real, *the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom*; that you will grant Me the hearing before any Sentence be paſſed; I only deſire this, that you will take this into your conſideration, it may be you have not heard of it before-hand; if you will, I'le retire, and you may think of it: but if I cannot get this *Liberty*, I do here proteſt, that

ſo fair ſhews of *Liberty and Peace* are pure ſhews, and no otherwiſe, in that you will not hear your KING.

Preſident. Sir, You have now ſpoken.

King. 'Yes Sir.

Preſident. And this that you have ſaid is a further declining of the *Juriſdiction of this Court*, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. 'Pray excuſe me, Sir, for my interruption, becauſe you miſtake me, it is not a declining of it, you judge me before you hear me ſpeak; I ſay it will not, do not decline it though I cannot acknowledge the Juriſdiction of the Court: yet, Sir, in this give me leave to ſay, I would do it, though I did not acknowledge it in this, I do proteſt it is not the declining of it, ſince I ſay if that I do ſay any thing but that that is for the Peace of *the Kingdom*, and *the Liberties of the Subject*, then the ſhame is mine. Now I deſire, that you will take this in to your conſideration, if you will, I'le withdraw.

Preſident. Sir, this is not altogether new that you have moved unto us, not altogether new to us, though the firſt time in perſon you have offered it to the Court Sir, you ſay you Decline not the Juriſdiction of the Court

King. 'Not in this that I have ſaid.

Preſident. I underſtand you well, Sir, but nevertheleſs that which you have offered, ſeems to be contrary to that ſaying of yours; for the Court are ready to give Sentence: It is not as you ſay, *That they will not hear the King*, for they have been ready to hear you, they have patiently waited your pleaſure for three Courts together to hear what you would ſay to the Peoples Charge againſt you, to which you have not vouchſafed to give an anſwer at all; Sir, This tends to a further delay: Truly Sir, ſuch delays as theſe neither may the Kingdom nor Juſtice well bear; You have had three ſeveral dayes to have offered in this kind what you would have pleaſed. This Court is founded upon that *Authority of the Commons of* England, *in whom reſts the Supreme Juriſdiction*; That which you now tender, is to have another Juriſdiction and a *Coordinate Juriſdiction*. I know very well you expre-

you

ur ſelf, Sir, That notwithſtanding that you would of-
r to the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber
t nevertheleſs you would proceed on here, I did hear
u ſay ſo; but Sir, that you would offer there, whatever
is, muſt needs be in delay of the Juſtice here; ſo as
his Court be reſolved, and prepared for the Sentence,
is that you offer they are not bound in juſtice to grant;
r, Sir, according to that you ſeem to deſire, and be-
uſe you ſhall know the further pleaſure of the Court
on that which you have moved, the Court will with-
aw for a time.

King. 'Shall I withdraw?

Preſident. Sir, you ſhall know the pleaſure of the Court
eſently: the Court withdraws for half an hour into the
rt of Wards.

Serj. at arms, the Court gives command that the Priſoner
withdrawn, and they give order for his return again
The Court withdraws for half an honour, and returns.

Preſident. Serjeant at Arms, ſend for your Priſoner.
Sir, You were pleaſed to make a motion here to the
urt to offer a deſire of yours touching the propounding
mewhat to the Lords in the *Painted Chamber* for the
ace of the Kingdom: Sir, you did in effect receive an an-
r before the Court adjourned; Truly Sir, their
hdrawing and adjournment was *pro forma tantum*,
it did not ſeem to them that there was any difficulty
the thing; they have conſidered of what you have
ved, and have conſidered of their own Authority
ich is founded (as hath been often ſaid) upon the
reme Authority of the Commons of England *Aſſembled in*
rliament, The Courtacts according to the Commiſſion
, the return I have to you from the Court, is this, That
y have been too much delayed by you already, and
s that you now offer hath occaſioned ſome little further
lay, and they are JUDGES appointed by the higheſt
JUDGES, and *Judges* are no more to delay, than
y are to deny Juſtice, they are good words in the
Charter of *England, Nulli Negabimus, nulli vendemus,*
lli deferemus Juſtitiam. There muſt be no delay; but

the Truth is, Sir, and ſo every man here obſerves it, That you have much delayed them in your contempt and default, for which they might have long ſince proceeded to judgement againſt you, and notwithſtanding what you have offered, they are reſolved to proceed to Puniſhment, and to judgment, and that is their unanimous Reſolution.

King. 'Sir, I know it is in vain for me to diſpute, I 'am no *Sceptick* for to deny the Power that you have, I 'know that you have Power enough; Sir, I confeſs I 'think it would have been for the Kingdoms peace, if 'you would have taken the pains for to have ſhown the 'Lawfulneſs of your Power; for this delay that I have 'deſired, I confeſs it is a delay, but it is a delay very im-'portant for the Peace of the Kingdom, for it is not my 'perſon that I look on alone, it is the Kingdoms welfare 'and the Kingdoms Peace: it is an Old Sentence, *That 'we ſhould think on long, before we have reſolved of great mat-'ters ſuddenly*; Therefore, Sir, I do ſay again, that I do 'put at your Doors all the inconveniency of an haſty 'Sentence; I confeſs I have been here now I think this 'Week, this day Eight dayes, was the day I came here 'firſt, but a little delay of a day or two further, may give 'Peace, whereas an *Haſty Judgment* may bring on that 'trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, 'that the Child that is unborn may repent it, and there-'fore again out of the Duty I owe to God, and to my 'Country, I do deſire that I may be heard by the Lords 'and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, or any other 'Chamber that you will appoint me.

Preſident. Sir, you have been already anſwered to what you even now moved, being the ſame you moved before, ſince the Reſolution and the Judgment of the Court in it, and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to ſay for Your ſelf, than you have ſaid, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. 'I ſay this Sir, that if you will hear me, if you will 'give me but this delay, I doubt not but I ſhall give ſome 'ſatisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that,

'and

nd therefore I do require you, as you will Anſwer it in he dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will conſider once again.

Preſident. Sir I have received direction from the Court.

King. 'Well Sir.

Preſident. If this muſt be re-inforc'd or any thing of this ature, your anſwer muſt be the ſame, and they will proed to ſentence if you have nothing more to ſay.

King. 'I have nothing more to ſay, but I ſhall deſire hat this may be entred, what I have ſaid.

Preſident. The Court then, Sir, hath ſomething to ſay o you, which although I know it will be very unacceptble, yet notwithſtanding they are willing, and are reived to diſcharge their Duty.

Sir, you ſpake very well of a precious thing that you ll Peace, and it had been much to be wiſhed that God d put it into your heart, that you had as effectually and ally endeavoured and ſtudied the Peace of the Kingom, as now in words you ſeem to pretend; but as you re told the other day, *Actions muſt expound intentions*, our Actions have been clean contrary: & truly Sir, it doth ppear plainly enough to them, that you have gone upon ry erroneous Principles; the Kingdom hath felt it to eir ſmart, and it will be no eaſe to you to think of it, r Sir, you have held your ſelf and Let fall ſuch Lanage, as if you had been no ways ſubject to the Law, that the Law had not been your Superior. Sir, the ourt is very well ſenſible of it, and I hope ſo are all the nderſtanding people of *England*, *That the Law is your uperior*: That you ought to have ruled according o the Law, you ought to have done ſo Sir: I know very ell your pretence hath been that you have done ſo, but ir, the difference hath been, who ſhall be the *Expoſitors this Law*, Sir, whether You and your Party out of Courts f Juſtice, ſhall take upon them to expound Law, or the *Courts of Juſtice*, who are the Expounders; nay, the overaign and *the High Court of Juſtice*, the *Parliament of ngland*, who are not only *the higheſt Expounders*, but *the e Makers of the Law*. Sir, for you to ſet your ſelf with

your ſingle Judgment, and thoſe that adhere unto you, againſt *the higheſt Court of Juſtice, that is not Law*: Sir, as the Law is your Superiour, ſo truly Sir, there is ſomething that is Superior to the Law, and that is indeed the *Parent or Author* of the Law, and that is *the People of England*. For Sir, as they are thoſe that at the firſt, (as other Countreys have done) did chuſe to themſelves this *Form of Government*, even for Juſtice ſake, that Juſtice might be adminiſtred, that Peace might be preſerved; ſo Sir, they gave Laws to their Governours according to which they ſhould govern; and if thoſe Laws ſhould have proved inconvenient, or preudicial to the Publick, they had a power in them, and reſerved to themſelves, to alter as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Sir, it is very true, what ſome of your ſide have ſaid, *Rex non habet par in Regno*; This Court will ſay the ſame while *King*, *That you have not your Peer* in ſome ſenſe, for you are *Major ſingulis*, but they will averr again, that you are *Minor univerſis*; and the ſame Author tells you, that *in exhibitione juris*, there you have no power, but are *quaſi minimus*.

This we know to be Law, *Rex habet ſuperiorem, Deum & Legem etiam & Curiam*, ſo ſays the ſame Author; and truly Sir, he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent ei ponere fra num, They ought to bridle him*; and Sir, we know very well the ſtories of Old; Thoſe Wars that were called the *Barons Wars*, when the Nobility of the Land did ſtand out *for the Liberty and Property of the Subject*, and would not ſuffer the Kings that did invade to play the Tyrants here, but called them to account for it, we know that Truth, That they did *frænum ponere*: But Sir, if they do forbear to do their duty now, and are not ſo mindful of their own Honour and the Kingdoms good, certainly the *Commons* of *England* will not be unmindful of what is for their preſervation and for their ſafety: *Juſtitiæ fruendæ cauſâ Reges conſtituti ſunt*. This we learn in the end of having Kings, or any other Governours, it's for the enjoying of Juſtice, that's the end. Now Sir, if ſo be the King will go contrary to the end of his Government; Sir, he muſt underſtand that he is but an Officer of truſt, and he

ought to discharge that trust, and they are to take or-
er for the animadversion, and punishment of such an of-
nding Governour.

This is not Law of yesterday, Sir, (since the time of
e division betwixt you and your people,) but it is Law
Old; And we know very well the *Authors* and *Authori-*
s that do tell us what the Law was in that point upon
e Election of Kings, upon the *Oath* that they took unto
eir people, and if they did not observe it, there were
ose things called Parliaments; The *Parliaments* were
ey that were to adjudge (the very words of the *Author*)
plaints and wrongs done of the King and Queen, or their
ildren; such wrongs especially, when the People could have
where else any remedy. Sir, that hath been the people of
glands case, they could not have their remedy elsewhere,
t in *Parliament.*

Sir, *Parliaments* were ordained for that purpose to re-
ess the grievances of the people, that was their main
d; and truly Sir, if so be that the Kings of *England*
d been rightly mindful of themselves, they were ne-
r more in *Majesty and State* than in the *Parliament*: but
w forgetful some have been *Histories* have told us; We
ve a miserable, a lamentable, a sad experience of it. Sir
the old Laws of *England*, (I speak these things the
ther to you, because you were pleased to let fall the o-
er day; you thought you had as much knowledge in the
w as most Gentlemen in *England*; it is very well Sir.
nd truly Sir, it is very good for the Gentlemen of *Eng-*
nd to understand that Law under which they must live,
d by which they must be governed. And then Sir, the
ripture says, *They that know their Masters Will and do it*
, what follows? The Law is your Master, the Acts of
rliaments;) the *Parliaments* were to be kept anciently,
e find in our *Author*, twice in the year, *That the Subject*
m any occasion, might have a ready remedy and redress for his
rivance. Afterwards, by several Acts of *Parliament* in the
ayes of your Predecessor *Edward* the third, they must
ve been once a year. Sir, what intermission of PAR-

LIAMENTS hath been in your time, it is very well known, and the ſad conſequences of it, and what in the interim inſtead of theſe Parliaments hath been by you, by an high and *Arbitrary* hand introduced upon the people, that likewiſe hath been too well known and felt. But when God by his Providence had ſo brought it about that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament; Sir, yet it will appear what your ends were againſt the Ancient, and your Native King of *Scotland*: The *Parliament* of *England*, not ſerving your ends againſt them, you were pleaſed to diſſolve it. Another great neceſſity occaſioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your Deſigns, and Plots, and Endeavours all along have been for the ruining and confounding of this Parliament, hath been very notorious to the whole Kingdom; and truly Sir, in that you ſtrike at all; that had been a ſure way to have brought about that that this layes upon you, *Your Intention to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land.* For the great Bulwark of *Liberty of the People*, is the PARLIAMENT of *England*; and to ſubvert and Root up that which your aim hath been to do, certainly at one blow you had confounded the Liberties and the Propriety of *England.*

Truly Sir, it makes me call to mind, I cannot forbear to expreſs it; for Sir, we muſt deal plainly with you according to the merits of your cauſe; ſo is our Commiſſion; it makes me call to mind (theſe proceedings of yours) that we read of a great *Roman Emperor*, by the way let us call him a great *Roman Tyrant* Caligula, *That wiſht that the people of* Rome *had had but one Neck, that at one blow he might cut it off:* and your proceedings have been ſomewhat like to his, for the Body of the people of *England* hath been (and where elſe repreſented) but in the Parliament, and could you but have confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the Neck of *England*: but God hath reſerved better things for us, and hath pleaſed for to confound your Deſigns, and to break your Forces, and to bring your Perſon into Cuſtody, that you might be reſponſible to Juſtice.

Sir,

Sir, we know very well, That it is a Queſtion on your ſide very much preſs'd, *By what preſident we ſhall proceed?* Truly Sir, for *Preſidents*, I ſhall not at this preſent make any long diſcourſe, but it is no new thing to cite *Preſidents* almoſt of all *Nations*, where the people (when power hath been in their hands) have not ſticked to call their Kings to account, and where the change of *Government* hath enſued upon occaſions of the *Tyranny and Miſ-government* of thoſe that have been placed over them; I will not ſpend time to mention *France* or *Spain*, or the Empire or other Countries, Volumes may be written of them; But truly Sir, that of the King of *Arragon*, I ſhould think ſome of you have thought upon it, whereby they have the Juſtice of Peace, that is a Man *tanquam in medio poſitus*, betwixt the K. of *Spain*, and the people of the Country, that if wrong be done by the K. he that is the K. of *Arragon*, the Juſtice hath power to reform the wrong, and he is acknowledged to be the K. Superior, and is the grand preſerver of their Priviledges, & hath proſecuted Kings upon their miſcarraiges.

Sir, What the Tribunes of *Rome* were heretofore, and what the *Ephori* were to the *Lacedemonian State*, we know what is the Parliament of *England* to the *Engliſh State*; and though *Rome* ſeem to have loſt its *Liberty* when once the Emperours were, yet you ſhall find ſome famous Acts of Juſtice even done by the Senate of *Rome*: that great Tyrant of his time, *Nero* condemned and judged by the Senate. But truly Sir, to you I ſhould not mention theſe Forreign examples and ſtories. If you look but over *Fordun*, we find enough in your Native Kingdom of *Scotland*. If we look to your firſt King *Fergus* that your ſtories make mention of, he was an Elective King, he died and left two Sons both in their Minority, the Kingdom made choice of their Unkle his Brother to govern in the Minority; afterwards the Elder Brother giving ſmall hopes to the people that he would Rule or Govern, well ſeeking to ſupplant that good Unkle of his, that governed them juſtly, they ſet the Elder aſide, and took to the Younger. Sir, if I ſhould come to what your ſtories make mention of, you know very well you are the 109*th* King of *Scotland*;

ſo

for to mention ſo many Kings as that Kingdom, accord-
ing to their Power and Priviledge have made bold to
deal withal, ſome to Baniſh, and ſome to Impriſon, and
ſome to put to Death, it would be too long; and as one
of your Authors ſayes, it would be too long to recite the
manifold examples that your own ſtories make mention
of; *Reges* (ſay they we do Create, we Created Kings at
firſt; *Legis*, &c. We impoſed Laws upon them; and as
they are Choſen by the ſuffrages of the people at the firſt,
ſo upon juſt occaſion, by the ſame ſuffrages, they may
be taken down again: and we will be bold to ſay, That
no Kingdom hath yeilded more plentiful experience than
that your Native Kingdom of *Scotland* hath done, con-
cerning the depoſition and the puniſhment of their of-
fending and tranſgreſſing Kings, *&c.*

It is not far to go for an example near you, your Grand-
mother ſet aſide, and your Father an Infant crowned; and
the State did it here in *England*; here hath not been a
want of ſome examples, they have made bold (the Par-
liament and the people of *England*) to call their Kings to
account, there are frequent examples of it in the *Saxons*
time, the time before the Conqueſt; ſince the Conqueſt
there wants not ſome Preſidents neither; King *Edward*
the Second, King *Richard* the Second, were dealt with ſo
by the Parliament, as they were Depoſed and deprived:
and truly Sir, whoever ſhall look into their ſtories, they
ſhall not find the Articles that are charged upon them,
to come near to that height and capitalneſs of Crime
that are laid to your charge, nothing near.

Sir, you were pleaſed to ſay the other day, wherein
they deſcend, and I did not contradict it, but take alto-
gether: Sir, if you were as the Charge ſpeaks, & no other-
wiſe admitted King of *Eng.* but for that you were pleaſed
then to alledge, how that almoſt for 1000 Years theſe
things have been, ſtories will tell you, if you go no higher
than the time of the Conqueſt; if you do come down
ſince the Conqueſt, you are the 24*th* King from *William*
called the Conquerer, you ſhall find one half of them to
come meerly from the State, and not meerly upon the
point

int of Deſcent; it were eaſie to be inſtanced to you, time muſt not be loſt that way. And truly Sir, what grave and learned Judge ſaid in this time, and well own to you, is ſince Printed for Poſterity, *That although it was ſuch a thing as a Deſcent many times, yet the Kings* England *ever held the greateſt aſſurance of their Titles, when was declared by* Parliament: And Sir, your *Oath*, the nner of your *Coronation* doth ſhew plainly, That as to Kings of *England*, though it's true by the Law the next rſon in Blood is deſigned; yet if there were juſt cauſe refuſe him, the People of *England* might do it. For ere is a *Contract* and Bargain made between the *King* his *People*, and your *Oath* is taken, and certainly Sir, Bond is reciprocal; for as you are the liege Lord, ſo y liege Subjects, and we know very well what hath en ſo much ſpoken of, *Legatio eſt duplex*. This we know w, the one tye, the one Bond, is the Bond of Perfection ich is due from the Soveraign the other is the Bond of bjection that is due from the Subject. Sir, if this bond once broken, farewel Soveraignty, *Subjectio trahit*, &c. Theſe things may not be denyed, Sir; I ſpeak it the her, and I pray God it may work upon your heart, t you may be ſenſible of your miſcarriages. For whe- r you have been as by your Office you ought to be, *a tector of* England, or *the Deſtroyer of* England, let all *gland* judge, or all the world that hath look'd upon it. , though you have it by *inheritance* in the way that is oken of, yet it muſt not be denyed that your Office was Office of Truſt, and an Office of the higheſt truſt lodg- in any ſingle perſon: For as you were the grand *Ad- niſtrator of Juſtice*, and others were as your *Delegates* ſee it done throughout your Realms, if your eat Office were to do Juſtice, and preſerve your Peo- e from wrong, and inſtead of doing that, you will be e *great wrong-doer your ſelf*; If inſtead of being a *Con- vator of the Peace*, you will be *the Grand Diſturber of the ace*, ſurely this is contrary to your Office, contrary to our Truſt. Now Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you eak of, your Title by *Deſcent*, let all men know that great

Offices

Offices are ſeizable and forfeitable; as if you had it but for a year, and for your life: Therefore Sir, it will concern you to take into your ſerious conſideration your great miſcarriages in this kind.

Truly Sir, I ſhall not particularize the many miſcarriages of your Reign whatſoever, they are famouſly known it had been happy for the Kingdom, and happy for you too, if it had not been ſo much known and ſo much felt as the ſtory of your miſcarriages muſt needs be, and hath been already.

Sir, That that we are now upon by the command of the *higheſt Court*, hath been and is to Try and Judge you for great offences of *yours*. Sir, the *Charge* hath called you *Tyrant*, *a Traytor*, *a Murtherer*, *and a publick Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England. Sir, it had been well if that any of all theſe terms might rightly and juſtly have been ſpared, if any one of them at all.

King. 'Ha!

Preſident. Truly Sir, we have been told *Rex eſt dum bene regit, Tyrannus qui populum opprimit*; and if ſo be that be the definition of a Tyrant, then ſee how ſhort you come of it in your Actions, whether the higheſt Tyrant by that way of Arbitrary Government, and that you have ſought to introduce, and that you have ſought to put you were putting upon the people, whether that was not as high an Act of Tyranny as any of your Predeceſſors were guilty of, nay many degrees beyond it.

Sir, the term Traytor cannot be ſpared; we ſhall eaſily agree it muſt denote and ſuppoſe a breach of Truſt, and it muſt ſuppoſe it to be done by a Superior; and therefore Sir, as the people of *Engl.* might have incurred that reſpecting you, if they had been truly guilty of it, as to the definition of Law; ſo on the other ſide, when you did break your Truſt to the King, you did break your Truſt to your Superior: For the King is that for which you were truſted. And therefore Sir, for this breach of Truſt, when you are called to account, you are called to account by your Superiors. *Minimus ad Majorem in judicium vocat.* And Sir, the *people of Engl and* cannot be ſo far wanting to themſelves,

ves, which God having dealt so miraculously and gloriously for, they having power in their hand, and their great Enemy, they must proceed to do Justice to themves and to you: For, Sir, the Court could heartily desire, hat you would lay your hand upon you Heart, and conder what you have done amiss: That you would endeaur to make your peace with God. Truly Sir, these are ur high Crimes, Tyranny and Treason.

There is a Third thing too, if those had not been, and ir is Murther, which is laid to your charge. All the body Murthers that have been committed since the me that the Division was betwixt You and your people, ust be laid to your charge, that have been acted or comtted in these late Wars. Sir, it is an heinous and cryin; and truly Sir, if any man will ask us what punishnt is due to a Murtherer, let Gods Law, let Mans w speak. Sir, I will presume that you are so well read Scripture, as to know what God himself hath said conning *the shedding of Mans Blood, Gen* 9. *Numb.* 35. will tell u what the punishment is, and which this Court in beif of the Kingdom are sensible of, of that Innocent blood it has been shed, whereby indeed the Land stands still deed with that blood. and as the Text hath it, *It can no way cleansed, but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed it Blood.* Sir, we know no Dispensation from this Blood that Commandment, *Thou shalt do no Murther*; we do know but that it extends to Kings, as well as to the meanest Peasants, the meanest of the people, the comnd is universal. Sir, Gods Law forbids it, Mans Law bids it, nor do we know that there is any manner of ception, nor even in Mans Laws, for the punishment of rther in you. 'Tis true; that in the case of Kings every vate hand was not to put forth it self to this work for Reformation and Punishment. But Sir, the people reesented having Power in their hands, had there been one wilful Act of Murther by you committed, had wer to have convented you, and to have punished you ir.

But then Sir, the weight that lies upon you in all those respects

respects that have been spoken by reason of your *Tyranny*, *Treason*, *breach of Trust*, and the *Murthers* that have been committed; surely Sir, it must drive you into a sad consideration concerning your Eternal condition: As I said at first, I know it cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as these are mentioned unto you from this Court, for so we do call our selves, and justifie our selves to be a Court, and a *High Court of Justice*, Authorized by the highest and solemnest Court of the Kingdom, as we have often said; and although you do yet endeavour what you may to dis-court us, yet we do take knowledge of our selves to be such a Court as can administer Justice to you, and we are bound Sir, in duty to do it. Sir, all I shall say before the reading of your Sentence, it is but this; the Court does heartily desire, that you will seriously think of those evils that you stand guilty of. Sir, you said well to us the other day, you wisht us to have God before our eyes: Truly Sir, I hope all of us have so, that God that we know is a *King* of *Kings*, and *Lord* of *Lords*, that God with whom there is no respect of Persons, that God that is the avenger of Innocent Blood, we have that God before us, that God that does bestow a Curse upon them that withhold their hands from shedding of Blood, which is the case of guilty Malefactors, and that do deserve Death: That God we have before our eyes, that were it not that the Conscience of our duty hath called us unto this place, and this imployment. Sir, you should have had no appearance of a Court here: but Sir, we must prefer the discharge of our duty unto God and unto the Kingdom, before any other respect whatsoever: and although at this time many of us, if not all of us, are severely threatned by some of your Party, what they intend to do; Sir, we do here declare, that we shall not decline, or forbear the doing of our duty in the Administration of Justice even to you, according to the merit of your offence, although God should permit those Men to effect all that Bloody Design in hand against us. Sir, we will say, and we will declare it, as those Children in the fiery Furnace, that would not worship the Golden Image

at *Nebuchadnezzer* had ſet up, *That their God is able to liver them from that danger that they were near unto*; but if he would not do it yet, notwithſtanding that, they uld not fall down and worſhip the Image; we ſhall s apply it: That though we ſhould not be delivered m thoſe bloody Hands and Hearts that conſpire the o-rthrow of the Kingdom in general, of us in particular, acting in this great work of Juſtice, though we ſhould iſh in the work, yet by Gods grace, and by Gods ngth, we will go on with it: And this is all our Re-ations. Sir, I ſay for your ſelf, we do heartily wiſh and ire, that God would be pleaſed to give you a ſenſe of ur ſins, that you would ſee wherein you have done a-ſs, that you may cry unto him that God would deliver u from blood-guiltineſs A good King was once guilty that particular thing, and was clear otherwiſe, ſaving he matter of *Uriah*. Truly Sir, the Story tells us, that was a repentant King, and it ſignifies enough, that he d dyed for it, but that God was pleaſed to accept of n, and to give him his pardon: *Thou ſhalt not die, but the ld ſhall dye; thou haſt given cauſe to the Enemies of God to ſpheme.*

King. 'I would deſire only one word before you give ntence, and that is, that you would hear me concern-g thoſe great imputations that you have laid to my arge.

Preſident. Sir, you muſt give me leave to go on, for n not far from your *Sentence*, and your time is now .

King. 'But I ſhall deſire you will hear me a few ords to you, for truly whatever *Sentence* you will put on me, in reſpect of thoſe heavy *imputations* I ſee by our Speech you have put upon me, that I Sir, it is very ne that ——

Preſident. Sir, I muſt put you in mind, Truly Sir, I uld not willingly at this time, eſpecially, interrupt u in any thing you have to ſay, that is proper for us admit of; but Sir, you have not owned us a Court, d you look upon us as a ſort of people met together,

and

and we know what Language we receive from your party.

King. 'I know nothing of that.

Pres. You disavow us as a *Court*, and therefore for you to addresse your self to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to judge of what You say, it is not to be permitted and the truth is all along from the first time, You were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard You one word; for unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak: Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, & admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further; were it proper for us to do, we should hear You freely, and we should not have declined to have heard You at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous *Charges* that in whole or in part are laid upon You. But Sir, I shall trouble You no longer. Your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration, they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance. And that the *Court* doth heartily wish, that You may be so penitent for what You have done amiss that God may have mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly Sir, for the other, it is our parts and duties to do that that the Law prescribes, we are not here *Jus dare* but *Jus dicere*; We cannot be unmindful of what the Scriptures tell. For *to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent*; we may not acquit the guilty what Sentence the Law affords to a Traitor, Tyrant, a Murtherer, and a publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the sentence of the Court.

The Lord *President* commands the Sentence to be read. Make an O Yes, and command silence while the Sentence is read.

O Yes made, silence commanded.

The Clerk read the Sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment.

Where

Whereas the Commons of England *in* Parliament *have ap-*
inted them an high Court of Juſtice for the Trying of Charles,
art *King of* England, *before whom he had been three times*
ented, and at firſt time a charge of High Treaſon, and other
h Crimes and miſdemeanours was read in the behalf of the
gdom of England, *&c.*

Here the Clerk read the Charge.

Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, He
ſaid *Charles Stuart*, was required to give his Anſwer,
he refuſed ſo to do, and ſo expreſt the ſeveral paſſages
his Tryal in refuſing to Anſwer.

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge,
t the ſaid Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murtherer,*
a publique Enemy, ſhall be put to Death, by the ſeparating his
d from his Body.

After the Sentence read, the Lord
Preſident ſaid,

This Sentence now read and publiſhed, it is the *Act,*
tence, Judgment, and Reſolution of the whole Court.

Here the Court ſtood up, as aſſenting to what the *Pre-*
t ſaid.

King. ' Will you hear me a word Sir?

Preſident. Sir, you are not to be heard after the Sen-
ce.

King. ' No Sir?

Preſident. No Sir, by your favour Sir: Guard, with-
w your Priſoner.

King. I may ſpeak after the *Sentence.*———

y your favour, Sir, I may ſpeak after the *Sentence*
er.

By your favour (hold) the *Sentence* Sir———
I ſay Sir, I do———

I am not ſuffered for to ſpeak, expect what Juſtice o-
r people will have.

O Yes, All manner of Perſons that have any thing elſe
do, are to depart at this time, and to give their atten-
ce in the Painted Chamber, to which place this Court
h forthwith adjourn it ſelf.

Then the Court roſe, and the King went with his
Guard

Guard to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and from thence to *White Hall.*

The Names of thoſe Perſons that were preſent at the Sentencing of the KING to Death.

John Bradſhaw, Preſident;
John Liſle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwel,
Henry Ireton,
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller.*
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harriſon,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Iſaac Ewers,
Lord *Gray* of Groby
Sir *John Danvers*, Knight.
Sir *Thomas Maleverer*, Bar.
Sir *John Bourchier*, Knight.
William Havenıngham,
Alderman *Pennington*,
William Pureſoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkſtead,
John Blackiſton,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir *William Conſtable*, Bar.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinſon,
Sir *Mich. Liveſay*, Bar.
Robert Tichborn,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richad Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewſon,
William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carew,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelham,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Wootan,
Sir *Gregory Norton*, Knight.
Edmon Harvey,
John Venn,
Thomas Scot,
Tho. Andrews, Alderman.
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Auguſtine Garland,
John Dixwel,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Meyn,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrave,
Thomas Waite

Ordered that Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, Coll. *Harriſon*, Col. General *Ireton*, Coll. *Dean*, and Coll. *Okey*, are appointed a Comittee to conſider of the Time and Place for the Execution of the King, according to his Sentence given by the High Court of Juſtice.

Painted Chamber, Lunæ, Jan. 29. 1648.

Upon report made from the Committee for conſideing of the time and place of the executing of the Judgment againſt the King: That the ſaid Committee have reſolved that the open Street before *Whitehall* is a fit place; And that the ſaid Committee conceive it fit, that the King be there Executed the morrow; the King having already notice thereof; the Court approved thereof, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpoſe, which Warrant was accordingly drawn and agreed unto; and ordered to be ingroſſed, which was done, and Signed & Sealed accordingly as followeth.

At the High Court of Juſtice for the Trying and Judging of *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, Jan 29. 1648.

WHereas Charles Stuart *King of* England, *is, and ſtandeth Convicted, Attainted, and Condemned of high Treaſon, and other High Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday laſt was pronounced againſt him by this Court to be put to death by the ſevering of his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done: Theſe are therefore will and require you to ſee the ſaid Sentence, Executed in the open ſtreet before* White-Hall, *upon the morrow, being the* 30th. *day of this inſtant month of* January, *between the hours of Ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon of the ſame day, with full effect; and for ſo doing, this ſhall be your ſufficient Warrant. And theſe are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this* Nation of England, *to be aſſiſting unto you in this ſervice.*

Given under our Hands and Seals,

To Coll. *Francis Hacker*, Coll. *Hunks*, and Lieuten. Coll, *Phray, and to every of them,*

Sealed and Subſcribed by

Bradſhaw, *O. Cromwel*, *Hen. Ireton*, *Hay. Waller*, *Jo. Liſle*,

Liſle, Val. Walton, Tho. Gray, Ed. Whaley, Mich. Liveſey, Okey, Jo. Danvers, Tho. Maleverer, Wil. Goffe, Tho. Pri Tho. Harriſon, Jo. Hewſon, Ri. Dean, Robert Tichborn Ow Roe, Jo. Barkſtead, G. Fleetwood, Gil. Millington, Tho. Ho ton, W. Say, W. Conſtable, Miles Corbet, Jo. Ven, Hen. Ma tin, &c.

Painted Chamber, *January*. 30. 1648.

The Commiſſioners met, and ordered, That Mr. *Ma ſhall*, Mr. *Noye*, Mr. *Carryll*, Mr. *Salway*, and Mr. *Dell*, h deſired to attend the King, to adminiſter to him tho Spiritual helps as ſhould be ſuitable to his preſent Con dition, and Lieutenant Collonel *Goffe* is deſired forth with to repair unto them for that purpoſe.

Who did ſo, but after informed the Court, that th King being acquainted therewith, refuſed to confer wi them, expreſſing that he would not be troubled wi them.

Ordered, That the Scaffold upon which the King is be executed, be covered with Black.

The Warrant for executing the King being accordin ly delivered to thoſe parties to whom the ſame was d rected, Execution was done upon him according to th tenour of the Warrant about two of the Clock in the A ternoon of the ſaid 30. of *January*.

After Sentence, The King being hurried from the Bar, as he paſſed down the ſtairs, the common Souldie (laying aſide all reverence to Soveraignty, ſcoffed him, caſting the ſmoak of their ſtinking Tobacco in h face (no *Smell* more offenſive to him) and flinging the foul pipes at his feet; But one more inſolent than t reſt, defiled his venerable Face with his ſpittle; for h Majeſty was obſerved with much patience to wipe it with his Handkerchief, as he paſſed; hearing them c out, Juſtice, Juſtice, *Poor Soul* (ſaid he) *for a piece of Mo they would do ſo for their Commanders*. That Night bef Saturday, *Jan*. 27. the King lodged at *White-Hall*; th evening a Member of the Army acquainted the Com mittee with the deſires of the King, that ſeeing they h paſſed Sentence of Death upon him, and the time of h exec

ecution might be nigh, that he might see his Children, d receive the Sacrament, and that Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of ndon, might be admitted to pray with him in his private amber; both which were granted.

The next day being Sunday *January* 28. the King was ended by his Guard to St. *James's*, where the Bishop *London* Preached privately before him; his Text was Rom. 2. 16. *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.*

Monday *Jan.* 29. His Children were permitted to come him, where passed this following Discourse as it was set wn in writing by his Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth*, hich Lady *Elizabeth* some months after, being confined *Carisborough-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*, died there with ief for the sufferings of her Dear Father.)

'His Children being come to meet him, He first gave is Blessing to the L. *Elizabeth*, and bad her to remember o tell her Brother *James*, when ever she should see him, hat it was his Fathers last desire that he should no more ook upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother only, but be obe-ient unto him as his Soveraign: and that they should ove one other, and forgive their Fathers Enemies, Then d the King to her, Sweet heart you'l forget this: No ith she) I shall never forget it whilst I live, and pouring rth abundance of tears, promised him to write down particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his knee, d, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers head pon which words the Child looking very stedfastly him) Mark child what I say, They will cut off my ead, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I , you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *arles* and *James* do live; for they will cut off your Bro-ers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy ad too at last, & therefore I charge you do not be made King by them. At which the Child sighing, said, I will torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly om one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceeding-

Tuesday Jan. 30. (The Fatal Day) He was about
of the Clock brought from his Pallace at Saint *Jam*
to *White-Hall*, marched on foot (guarded with a Re
ment of foot Soldiers) through the Park, with their
lours flying, and Drums beating, his private Guard of P
tizans about him, Dr. *Juxon* Bishop of *London* on one si
and Collon. *Thomlinson* on the other, both bare heade
bidding them go faster, saying, *That he now went bef*
them to strive for an heavenly Crown with less solicitude, than
had oftentimes bid his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Dia
Being come to the end of the Park, he ascends the Sta
leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and so into t
Cabinet Chamber, where he formerly used to Lodge; the
his Majesty with the Bishop of *London* continued for so
time in Devotion, and received the blessed Sacrame
from the hand of the said Bishop; at which time he re
for the second Lesson, the 27. Chapter of Saint *Matthe*
Gospel, which contained the History of the Death a
Passion of our blessed Saviour; the Communion ended,
Majesty thanked the Bishop for selecting so seasonab
and comfortable a portion of Scripture. The Bishop m
destly replyed, No thanks were due to him, for it w
the Chapter appointed by the *Rubrick* of the Church for t
second morning Lesson for that day, being *Jan.* 30. He
the King continued at his Devotion, refusing to dine,
ly about Twelve of the Clock, he eat a bit of Bread, a
drank a Glass of Claret, from thence about one a Clock h
was accompanied by Dr. *Juxon* and Coll. *Thomlinson*, a
other Officers formerly appointed to attend him, and t
Private Guard of Partizans with Musketeers on each si
through the Banquetting house, adjoyning to which t
Scaffold was erected, between *White-Hall* Gate, and t
Gate leading into the Gallery from Saint *Jame's*: T
Scaffold was hung round with Black, the Floor cover
with black Bayes, and the Ax and Block laid in the mi
dle of the Scaffold. There were divers Companies
Foot of Collonel *Prides* Regiment, and several Troo
of Horse placed on the one side of the Scaffold towa
King-street, and on the other side toward *Charing Cr*

nd the multitudes of people that came to be Spectators ery great. The King being come upon the Scaffold, it as expected he would say somewhat to the people, the hich he did.

But because we have no other Relation of what his Majesty n spake, save what was taken in short-hand on the Scaffold three several Gentlemen, who were very exquisite in that Art, had his Majesty any Copy (being surprized and hastned by se who attended him to the Scaffold,) save only a few heads a little scrip of Paper, which after his death, the Souldiers k from the Bishop of London, *to whom he gave it: Therefore Reader must be content with this Copy, which was by them n joynt comparing of the Copies published, some few words being ered to make the sense perfect.*

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking out him upon the people, who were kept off by the roops of Horse, so that they could not come near to ear him, omitted what he had purposed to have spoken them (as 'tis thought) and turning himself to the Soul- iers and Officers (the Instruments of the Regicides) ake to them to this effect:

e King being come upon the Scaffold, look'd very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Col. Hacker *if there were no higher: And then spake thus (directing his Speech chiefly to Col.* Tom- linson.)

ing. 'I Shall be very little heard of any body there, 'I shall therefore speak a word unto you here. Indeed I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment; but I think it is my duty to God first, and to my Country, for to clear my self both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my *Innocency*; In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, That I never did in-

'tend for to encroach upon their Priviledges, they be-
'gan upon me; it is the Militia they begun upon: they
'confeſt that the *Militia* was mine, but they thought it
'fit for to have it from me: and to be ſhort, if any body
'will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Com-
'miſſions and mine, & likewiſe to the Declarations, will ſee
'clearly that they began theſe unhappy troubles, not I.
'So that as to the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that
'are laid againſt me, I hope in God that God will clear
'me of it, I will not, I am in Charity: God forbid
'that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament,
'there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of
'this guilt; for I do believe that ill inſtruments between
'them and me, has been the chief cauſe of all this blood-
'ſhed: ſo that by way of ſpeaking, as I find my ſelf clear
'of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too
'yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chri-
'ſtain as not to ſay that Gods Judgments are juſt upon
'me. Many times he does pay Juſtice by an unjuſt ſen-
'tence, that is ordinary. I will only ſay this, That unjuſt
'Sentence * that I ſuffered for to take effect
* *Strafford.* 'is puniſhed now by an unjuſt Sentence up-
'on me. So far have I ſaid, to ſhew you that
I am an Innocent man.

'Now for to ſhow you that I am a good Chriſtian: I
'hope there is (* *Pointing to Dr:* Juxon,) a good man
'that will bear me witneſs, That I have forgiven all the
'world, and even thoſe in particular that have been the
'chief cauſers of my death; who they are, God knows,
'I do not deſire to know, I pray God forgive them. But
'this is not all, my charity muſt go further. I wiſh that they
'may repent, for indeed they have committed a great
'ſin in that particular: I pray God with St. *Stephen*, that
'this be not laid to their charge. nay not only ſo, but
'that they may take the right way to the peace of the
'Kingdom; for my Charity commands me, not only to
'forgive particular men, but my Charity commands me
'to endeavour to the laſt gaſp the Peace of the Kingdom.
'So (Sir) I do wiſh with all my Soul (and I do hope
there

there is some here * will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.

* *Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.*

'Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in the way: First, you are out of the way, For certainly all the way, you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is in an ill way. For Conquest (Sirs) in my opinion is never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or just Title, and then if you go beyond it, the first quarrel that you have to it, is it that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: But if it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery as a Pirate said to *Alexander*, that he was the great robber, he was but a Petty Robber: and so, Sir I do think the way that you are in, is much out of the way. Now, Sir, for to put you in one way, believe it, you will never do right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God his due, the King his due (that is my Successors) and the people their due. I am as much for them as any of you: You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, (according to his Scriptures which is now out of order: For to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but only this A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this; when that every opinion is freely and clearly heard.

'For the King indeed I will not — (*Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Ax: said*, Hurt not the Ax that may hurt* me) For the King, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that: therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it.

* *Meaning if he did blunt the edge.*

'For the people: and truly I desire their Liberty and freedom as much as any body whosoever, but I must tell you, that their Liberty and freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for hav-

'ing ſhare in Government (Sirs) that is nothing pertain'
'ing to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clear dif-
'ferent things, and therefore until they do that, I mean,
'That you do put the people in that Liberty, as I ſay, cer-
'tainly they will never enjoy themſelves.

'Sirs, It was for this that now I am come here; If I
'would have given way to an Arbitrary way for to have all
'Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I
'needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you
'(and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that *I am*
'*the Martyr of the people.*

'In troth Sirs, I ſhall not hold you much longer, for I
'will only ſay this to you, that in truth I could have de-
'ſired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put
'this that I have ſaid in a little more order, and a little
'better digeſted than I have done, and therefore I hope
'you will excuſe me.

'I have delivered my Conſcience, I pray God that you
'do take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of the
'Kingdom, and your own ſalvations.

Dr. Juxon. *Will your Majeſty (though it may be very well known, your Majeſties affections to Religion, yet it may be expected that you ſhould) ſay ſomewhat for the worlds ſatisfaction.*

King. 'I think you very heartily (my Lord) for that;
'I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth Sirs, My Conſcience
'in Religion I think is very well known to all the world,
'and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chri-
'ſtian according to the Profeſſion of the Church of *England*
'as I found it left me by my Father, and this
* *Pointing to Dr. Juxon.* 'honeſt man * I think will witneſs it. *Then*
'*turning to the Officers, ſaid,* Sirs, excuſe me
'for this ſame. I have a good cauſe, and I have
'a gracious God, I will ſay no more. *Then*
'*turning to Collonel* Hacker, he ſaid; Take care they do
'not put me to pain, and Sir, this and it pleaſe you.
'*But then a Gentleman coming near the Ax, the King ſaid,*
'Take heed of the Ax, pray take heed of the Ax. *Then*
'*the King ſpeaking to the Executioner, ſaid,* I ſhall ſay

but very ſhort Prayers, and when I thruſt out my hands

Then the King called to Doctor *Juxon*, for his Night-cap, and having put it on, he ſaid to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?* who deſired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Biſhop: Then the King turning to Doctor *Juxon*, ſaid; *I have a good Cauſe, and a gracious God on my ſide.*

Doctor *Juxon*. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troubleſome, it is a ſhort one; But you may conſider, it will ſoon carry you a very great way: It will carry you from Earth to Heaven; and there you ſhall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown; where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the world.*

Doctor *Juxon*. You are exchanged from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange

The King then ſaid to the Executioner, is my hair well? Then the King took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to Doctor *Juxon* ſaying, Remember (*It is thought for to give it to the Prince.*) Then the King put off his Doubler, and being in his Waiſtcoat, put his Cloak on again, then looking upon the Block, ſaid to the Executioner, *You muſt ſet it faſt.*

Executioner, It is faſt Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way, ſtretching them out then,*

After that having ſaid two or three words (as he ſtood to himſelf, with hands and eyes lift up: Immediately ſtooping down laid his Neck upon the Block, and then the Executioner again putting his hair under his cap, the King ſaid (thinking he had been going to ſtrike, Stay for the ſign.

Executioner, Yes, I will and it pleaſe you Majeſty.

And after a very little pauſe, the king ſtretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body. The head being off, the Executioner held

it up and ſhewed it to the people; which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpoſe, and conveyed into his Lodgings there. And from thence it was carried to his Houſe at Saint *Jame's* where his body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, laid there a fortnight to be ſeen by the people; and on the Wedneſday-ſeven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the care of four of his Servants, *viz* Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preſton*, and *John Joyner*, former Cook to his Majeſty; they attended with others cloathed in Mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herſe that night to *Windſor*, placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-chamber; next day it was removed into the *Deans Hall* which Room was hanged with Black, and made dark; Lights burning round the Herſe, in which it remained till Three in the Afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Earl of *Lyndſey*, having obtained an Order from the Parliament for the decent Interment of the King their Royal Maſter, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five Hundred pound: At their coming into the Caſtle, they ſhewed their Order of Parliament to Collonel *Wichcot* Governour of the Caſtle, deſiring the Interment might be in St. *Georges* Chappel, and by the Form in the Common-Prayer Book of the Church of *England*; this requeſt was by the Governour denyed, ſaying it was improbable that the Parliament would permit the uſe of what they had ſo ſolemnly aboliſhed, and therein deſtroy their own Act. To which the Lords replyed, There is a difference betwixt deſtroying their own Act, and diſpenſing with it; and that no Power ſo binds its own hands, as to diſable it ſelf in ſome caſes: All could not prevail, the Governour perſiſting in the Negative, the Lords betook themſelves to the ſearch of a convenient place for the Burial of the Corps; the which after ſome pains taken therein, they diſcover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein, as is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry*

th

the Eighth, and his beloved Wife the Lady *Jane Seamor*, both in Coffins of Lead; in this Vault there being Room for one more, they resolve to inter the body of the King, the which was accordingly brought to the place, born by the Officers of the Garrison, the four Corners of the Velvet Pall born up by the aforesaid four Lords, the pious Bishop of *London* following next, and other Persons of Quality: the Body was committed to the earth with sighs and tears, especially of the Reverend Bishop, to be denyed to do the last Duty and Service to his Dear and Royal Master; the Velvet Pall being cast into the Vault was laid over the Body; upon the Coffin was these words set.

KING CHARLES, 1648.

His Majesty intended to have delivered in writing the following Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice *Monday Jan.* 22. 1648. but was not permitted.

Having already made My protestations, not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no Earthly power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occasion, more than to refer My self to what I have spoken, were I in this case alone concerned. But the duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent. For, how can any free-born Subject of England, *call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Laws of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me, concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meanest man in* England; *for I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.*

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is war-

* Hereabout the King was ſtop'd, and not ſuffer'd to ſpeak any more concerning reaſon.

ranted either by Gods Law or the municipal Laws of the Coun. where he lives. Now I am moſt confident, this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted, & ſtrictly commanded both in the Old and New Teſtament; which if denyed, I am ready inſtantly to prove: and for the queſtion now in hand there it is ſaid, That* where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may ſay unto him, what doeſt thou? Eccl. 8. 4. *Then for the Law of this Land, I am no leſſe confident that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie againſt the King, they all going in his name: and one of their Maxims is,* That the King can do no wrong. *Beſides, the Law upon which you ground you proceedings, muſt either be old or new; if old, ſhew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the Houſe of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature which was never one it ſelf (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to Judge: And it were full as ſtrange that they ſhould pretend to make Laws without King or Lords Houſe to any that have heard ſpake of the Laws of* England.

And admitting but not granting, that the people of Englands *Commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee nothing you can ſhew for that; for certainly you never asked the queſtion of the tenth man in the Kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly wrong even the pooreſt Plough-man, if you demand not his free conſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commiſſion without the conſent, at leaſt of the major part of every man in* England, *of whatſoever quality or condition which I am ſure you never went about to ſeek; ſo far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that I ſpeak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all My Subjects, which conſiſts not in the power of Government, but in living under ſuch Laws, ſuch a Government, as may give themſelves the beſt aſſurance of their Lives, and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this muſt or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houſes of Parliament, which this dayes proceedings do not only violate, but likewiſe*

wise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith, that (I believe ever was heard of; with which I am far from changing the two Houses: for all the pretended crimes laid against Me bear date long before this late Treaty at Newport, *in which having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized and hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither; where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just right. Then for any thing I can see, the higher house is totally excluded. And for the House of Com it is too well known that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in My thoughts; and what hope of settlement is there, so long as Power reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole frame of that Government, under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years? nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceeding against Me doe goon) and believe it the Commons of* England *will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years, under the reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *the King my Father and My self, before the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, & will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom against those who have supposed My power hath totally changed the ancient Government.*

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority, without violating the trust which I have had from God for the welfare and liberty of my people, I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My judgment, shewing Me that I am in an Error (and then truly I will answer) or that you would withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in *Westminster-Hall* on Monday, *January* 22 but against Reason was hindred.

After the *Regicides* had committed this horrid and nefarious Act, the prevailing Power consisting of a parcht

number of the House of Commons, and the chief Officers of the Army, combined together, and seeing how successful and unopposed they had effected this so Unparrallel'd a Deed, to which they knew the generality of the Nation were utterly averse, and as far as they durst, shew'd their absolute dislike; they in the next place fall upon the alteration of the Government, thinking to make sure work by subverting the Antient Monarchy of this Realm, and instead thereof introducing that which they call a *Free State, or Common wealth.* For constituting of which the first thing they did, was to Vote and publish by Proclamation, *That whereas several pretences might be made to the Crown,* &c. *to the apparent hazard of the publick Peace, no Person whatsoever should presume to proclaim, or any way promote* Charles Stuart, *Son of the said* Charles *late King of* England, *or any other Person to be King or chief Magistrate,* &c. *by Colour of Inheritance, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free Consent of the People in* Parliament; first *signified by a particular Act for that purpose, any Law or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding; and whosoever should contrary to this Order proclaim,* &c. *shall be adjuged a Traitor, and suffer accordingly.*

This proceeding was founded upon a Maxim which they had taken up, and agreed on among themselves, namely, *That all power and Authority is Originally in the People:* But well knowing that their Councils had soon been confounded, and themselves interrupted in the course they had begun, if they had incorporated again with those of their Members, which had been forcibly kept out by the Army, they Resolve and Decree, 1. *That all those Members who had assented to the Vote of* Decemb. 5. *concerning the Kings Concessions* (for that was the occasion of their seclusion) *should never be readmitted, and those that Voted in the Negative, should presently enter their said dissent, or before they were to be admitted.*

And together with the fortune of Monarchy was involved that of the *House of Peers,* who having [illegible] desire a Conference about setling the Gov[illegible]

ard the Judges Commissions were determined by the Kings Death; instead of an Answer to their Message, the *Junto* of the Commons upon debate Voted, the Lords House to be *useless and dangerous*, and therefore to be laid aside, as in like manner they declared the Kingly office to be unnecessary and Burthensom and therefore fit to be abolished; only they allowed the Lords the Priviledge of being capable to be chosen Burgesses in the House of Commons; But the Lords were so highly incensed thereat, that there was suddenly published a Declaration in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the realm, wherein they protest against the Proceedings of the Commons. And a while after some of the Kings friends in despite of all Votes, Acts, and Orders to the contrary, promoted a Proclamation, in the name of all the Nobility Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdom, for proclaiming *Charles* our present Soveraign to be King of *England*.

But little could unarmed Declarations prevail against the reigning power of an armed faction, who now assumed new ensigns of soveraignty, cancelling the old, and caused all Writs, Commissions and Instruments of publick Concernment, to be issued out under a new stile and Test, that is, of *The Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*. They ordered the old great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made, with the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* on one side, and this Inscription *The Great Seal of* England; and on the other side of the House of Commons with this Inscription, *In the first Year of Freedom by Gods Blessings restored*, 1684. And appointed the Money to bear the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this *Motto*, *God with us*; and the Great Seal was intrusted with three Commissioners: They likewise caused the Kings Arms to be pulled down every where, and the Kings Picture in the old Exchange they caused to be defaced, and the following Inscription to be set behind it in Golden Letters: *Exit Tyrannus regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ Primo Anno* 1648 *Jan.* 30.

They next proceed to erect another Illegal high Court of Justice, within which they brought to Tryal D. *Hamilton* taken

taken at the fight at *Preſton*, the E. of *Holland* at *Kingſton* Fight, and the L. *Capell* and L. *Goring* taken at the Siege of *Colcheſter*; The three firſt were Condemned and beheaded at the *Palace-yard* at *Weſtminſter*; After this the L. *Fairfax* having laid down his Commiſſion, the Parliament made *Oliver Cromwell* their General, who a while after was ſent into *Ireland*, where he proved very ſucceſsfull.

His Majeſty was now in *France*, and hoped to get aid there, but found none; but the *Junto* proceeding to make ſale of the King and Queens Lands, and made a formal Act for abolishing Kingly Government, and diſinheriting the Royal Iſſue, and ſetting up a *Republick* or *Free State*; this Act Alderman *Reynardſon* was commanded to proclaim in the City, which he refuſing, was committed to the *Tower*, with three Aldermen more; and a new Lord Mayor was choſen by a *Common-Hall*, who attended with ſeveral other Aldermen as complyant as himſelf, readily obeyed the Commands of his Maſters, and proclaimed their Edict in ſeveral places of the City.

Nor could the poſſeſſion of one Rich Kingdom ſatisfie the aſpiring mindes of the Uſurpers; *England* was already wholly Subjected to their power, *Scotland* not yet mature for invaſion; *Ireland* is next the object of their Ambition; for the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, being made L. Lieutenant by the late King, and ſeeing a neceſſity of cloſing with the confederated *Irish*, and uniting all Intereſts there, againſt the Common Enemy, he concluded a Peace with the moſt conſiderable Party of the Confederates, upon their ſubmiſſion, and the Profeſſion of their Obedience to his Majeſty; and on the Marqueſſes part, the conceſſion of certain Articles, which according to the neceſſity of Affairs yeilded them many Ample Priviledges and Advantages, Having got together a conſiderable number of Forces, and being alſo aſſiſted by the L. *Inchequeen*, the Marqueſs of *Clanrichard*, and the Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, the L. Lieutenant deſigned to reduce thoſe places in *Ireland*, which yet held out for the *Engliſh* Republick, which are only *Dublin*, *Londonderry*, *Trim*, and *Tredagh*

Tredagh of any regard; of which the 3 laſt upon a defeat, ſurrendred to the Kings Forces; But *Dublin* being of chiefeſt conſequence, the L. Lieutenant endeavoured to gain it by all means poſſible. Coll. *Michael Jones* was Governour, and the Marqueſs with the conjunction of *Taffe*, *Preſton*, and others of the confederate *Iriſh* Forces that had declared for the King made up a Gallant Army, a richer having ſcarce been ſeen in all the late Wars: *June* 29. 1649. the Siege began, and had in all probability ſucceeded, but for the Differences and Animoſities between the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Commanders; and likewiſe the L. Lieutenants unwillingneſs to attacque the City, out of a tender reſpect to the *Proteſtants* within; the neceſſity alſo of drawing off ſome part of the Forces for the defence of *Munſter* againſt the *Engliſh*; and on the other ſide the unanimity among the Garriſon Souldiers within the City, and the vigilance and Courage of their Governor, emboldned by theſe Conſiderations, the Beſieged took courage firſt with ſlight excurſions, & afterward having diſcovered the ſecurity and careleſs poſture of thoſe that were ſet to Guard a certain Fort which they attempted, they with their whole ſtrength ſally out upon them, not fearing to venture even upon the main Army; and ſo far did Fortune favour this their bold attempt, that being incouraged by the weak reſiſtance they met with to venture further on in a ſhort while they utterly defeated them, with little loſs on their own ſide, killing and taking very many Priſoners, and poſſeſſing themſelves intirely of the whole Camp, abounding in very rich Booty, and Plenty of all things, the Marqueſs himſelf hardly eſcaping.

Soon after, the Siege of *Londonderry* was raiſed by Sir *Cha. Coot*, and *Crom.* is ſent into *Ireland* with 4 Regiments of Horſe, 7 Regiments of Foot, and one of Dragoons, being inveſted with the Title of Lord Governour or Lieut. of *Ireland*: next to whom in power was his Son-in-Law *Ireton* who with 40 Sail of Ships tranſported the Army; *Cromwell* after a ſhort ſtay in *Dublin*, marched with great expedition to *Drogheda*, or *Tredagh*, which had been reinforced

orced by the Marqueſs of *Ormond* with a ſupply of 2500 Foot, and 300 Horſe of the choiceſt of his Forces with divers Reſolute and ſtout Commanders, among whom Sir *Arthur Aſton*, heretofore Governour of *Reading* for the late King was made Governor; there wanted in the Defendants neither Courage nor Fidelity for keeping the Town; but ſuch was the force and fortune of the Aſſailants, that after ſeveral furious and ſucceſsful Onſets, which coſt them dear enough, the Town was at laſt taken by ſtorm, and in revenge of their reſolute ſtanding out, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, Sir *Ed. Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, *Tempeſt Finglas* with other chief Commanders, and all the reſt that were within the Town, whether Garriſon Souldiers or Inhabitants were by *Cromwells* Order far unbecoming the Zeal and Religion he pretended, put all to the Sword, except ſome very few Perſons who hid themſelves till the Revenge was over, and the edge of deſtroying fury abated; *Wexford* was next ſurprized by the Treachery of one *Stafford* the Governour, even in the very ſight of the Marqueſs of *Ormond* who came to Relieve it; Then followed the taking of *Roſs*, *Kelkenny*, *Canick*, and the reſt of the moſt important Towns and Caſtles in all parts of *Ireland*; beſides ſeveral Field Fights ſucceſsfully fought by the L. *Broghil*, Sir *Charles Coot*, *Coll Zanchy*, *Reynolds*, *Hewſon*, and *Venables*; And no great wonder ſince they were greatly ſupplied by their Maſters in *England*, a competent number of Ships attending on that occaſion; on the other ſide many reſolute attempts were made by the L. *Lieutenant*, and other maintainers of the Royal Intereſt; but through ſhortneſs of Pay, increaſing of diviſions among them, and want of the Kings preſence, which was much deſired, and was judged would have very much conduced to his Intereſt in that Kingdom, from thoſe diſcouragments, not only great numbers of their men, but Towns and Cities fell off to the well paid, and therefore prevailing ſide; ſo that in leſs than a year all *Ireland* was in a manner totally ſubdued to the power of the

[illegible] under P. *Rupert* is ruined

ned by several misfortunes, and P. *Maurice* his Brother was cast away in the Vice Admiral.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had resolved some time since to own and Treat with his present Majesty, and he was solemnly Proclaimed by their Order at *Edenburgh*. Feb. 3. 1648. and in *September* following after great debates among them, Mr. *Windram* Laird of *Liberton* was appointed Messenger; His Majesty had staid some time at St. *Germains* in *France* in expectation of some Message; which not receiving, he takes his leave of the Queen Mother and the French Court, and steers his Course for the Isle of *Jersey*, as most commodious for the *Scotch* Commissioners; upon his first arrival in the Island he was proclaimed King, and the L. *Jermyn* was made Governor of the Island; here the L. *Windram* found His Majesty, and presented him with the desires and offers of the States of *Scotland*, which were to this effect; *That His Majesty would sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and pass an Act for all Persons to take it through out the Kingdom of* Scotland, *and confirm all that had been done there concerning the same; that he would withdraw his Commissions from the Marquess of* Montrose; *that he would put away all Papists from about him, and let none be of his Council but known* Protestants, with several other particulars; and at last after many Consultations, *Breda* in *Holland* was appointed for the place of a Solemn Treaty, where Commissioners from the State and Kirk met the King.

At this time his Majesty had Ambassadors and Envoys residing in the Courts of several great Princes and States, as at *Mosco*, *Venice*, *Germany*, *Turky*, and *Spain*, to sollicite their Aid and Assistance for the recovery of his Fathers Kingdoms; many Complements no doubt they received, and many fair Pretences of their good will to help him, as the custom of the world is, as well among Princes as those of lower degree, but for the most part little or nothing beside; so little regarded is the condition of a Person depress in Fortune, though a Prince, the most Solemn Embassy, and of which there

was

was moſt hope, was that to the King of *Spain*, whic
how it ſucceeded will appear by the Anſwer given to th
Lord *Cottington*, and Sir *Edward Hyde*, His Majeſtie
Ambaſſadors to that King, who at length were admitted
to have Audience: The ſubſtance of the Embaſſy was
1. *That the Parliament of England having been in Arm
againſt his Father, had preſumed againſt him, and cauſed hi
to be put to death.* 2. *That he being the Son and Heir of the ſai*
Charles *late King of Great Brittan and* Ireland, *wa
kept out of his Kingdoms by the ſaid Parliament.* 3. *That h
deſired his Neighbourly aſſiſtance, that he would afford hi
what aid he could to eſtabliſh him into his Rights and Digni
ties in the Kingdoms.* To this the King of *Spain* made a
ſwer; *That he was ſorry for his Fathers ill ſucceſs, wiſhin
that he had been more proſperous.* 2. *That he condoled wit
him for his Fathers death, and was much affected with ſorro
at the manner of it*; 3. *That concerning the difference be
tween him & the Parliament, and the Right on the one and t
other ſide, they being matters out of his Territories and Juri
dictions he could not take cognizance of them, nor ſhould
meddle therein, but for any thing within his own Dominions
ſhould be willing to do him what lawful favour he could*; It
in vain to ſue for help to thoſe, againſt whoſe Intereſt
is to afford it; this King, notwithſtanding the ſorrow h
profeſt for his late Majeſties death, thinking it moſt fo
his Profit to comply with the prevaling Party, was th
firſt that own'd the Power of the *Engliſh* Commo
wealth, and ſhewed himſelf deſirous to enter into
League with them.

During the *Scots* Treaty the Marqueſs of *Montr*
was ſeized in *Scotland*, and for oppoſing the Kirk Par
was condemned and Executed upon a Gibbet near fif
foot high, with all imaginable Contempt; which H
Majeſty having an account of, was much troubled, a
the Treaty had like to have been broken off, but
length through the neceſſity of Affairs was conclude
and being carried to *Edenburgh*, after much bebare
was reſolved, another Meſſage ſhould be ſent to inv
the King over; but the Parliament here in *England* h
vi

g notice of these Proceedings in *Scotland*, prepared an
my thereupon to invade *Scotland*, under the Command
heir General *Oliver Cromwell*.

And now the King being arrived at *Spey* in the North
Scotland, some Lords were sent down to accompany
to *Edenburgh*: as he come along he was entertained
h the general joy of all the People, and at *Aberdeen*
was presented with 1500 Pounds, which thing was ill
n by the *Committee of Estates*: and therefore they sent an In-
tion to prohibit other places from doing the like; The King
g now come to *Edenburgh* was again Proclaimed King, *July*
1650. but his Coronation was deferred by reason of the then
bles, since the *English* Army was upon the Borders and the
now began to think how to defend themselves, and there-
march'd under the Command of *Montgomery*, and set upon
English at *Musselborough*, but were surprised by them, and at
bar the *English* wholly routed them, taking the pass there.

the same time the *Scots* were divided among themselves into
e Parties, but the King returning with *Montgomery* to St. *John-*
they were all reconciled, & the King on *Ja.* 1. 1650. was Crown-
Scone; and soon after set up his Standard at *Aberdeen*, re-
ing to be himself *Generalissimo* of the *Scotch* Army; About
h time Sir *Hen. Hyde* was beheaded at *London* for his Loyalty;
not long after Captain *Brown*; *Bushel* received the like Doom
performing some signal services to the King; the King began
rt the *Sterling*, and the *English* drew near it: and *Cromwell*
iving he could not draw the *Scots* to a Field Battle, suddenly
sported over *Fyfe* 1600 foot, and four Troops of Horse, who
the help of *Lambert* and *Okey*, routed the *Scots* under Sir *John*
wn, taking him and several other Persons of Quality Prisoners,
ng 2000 on the place, and taking about 120 Prisoners; not
after Mr. *Gibbons* and Mr. *Love* were Beheaded on *Tower Hill*
the discovery of a Plot in *England* against the *Parliament* by
Presbyterians.

he King seeing the *English* prevail so fast, thought it best to
Scotland, and so marched for *England*, *July* 30. 1651. which
ell observing, sent *Lambert* after him with a select Party of
e: The Kings Army being now in *England*, the Parliament
d numerous Forces to be raised in most Counties in *England*,
his Majesty Marched on to *Worcester*, and fortified it: In the
time Major General *Lambert* gained the pass at *Upton*, by
perate attempt, in causing some of his Troopers to swim the
ron Horse-back, carrying their Pistols and Holsters in their
s to save them from wet, whereby they put Major General
ey and his men to the Retreat, so that the Kings party was for-

ced

ced to quit the Town, and leave the pass to the Parliamentarians, who quickly made a Bridge over the River; and *Cromwell* joining with the rest of the Forces against the King, after some Sallies out of the Town against them; at length the King in the Front of his men, sallied out of Town on *Sept.* 3. 1651. and so valiantly charged *Cromwells* Life-Guard, that they were forced to retire till seconded by fresh Forces, they put the Kings party to the Retreat; and the King had his Horse twice shot under him, and not able to rally again, they were forced to fly into the Town, where *Cromwells* Party entered Pell Mell with them, and then the Cry went, *Save the King, Save the King.*

The King seeing all lost, with some of his Nobles and Servants escaped with much difficulty to a Farmers house in *Stafford shire*, where he disrobed himself, and for want of Scissers had his Hair cut off with a Knife; and so with the Company of one Friend (who brought him Provision towards night) he betook himself to a Wood, where he made an Oak his Palace; the Souldiers hunting about for him, and a thousand Pound promised as a Reward to those that could take him; It is supposed there were about three thousand slain at *Worcester*, and seven hundred taken Prisoners, and not long after the E. of *Derby* who was one of them, was beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire.*

His Majesty through many dangers and difficulties arrived at last safely at *Paris* in *France*; And a while after *Oliver Cromwell*, *April* 20 1653. Dissolved the long Parliament, which had sate Twelve years, six months and seventeen days. In this year and the next, there were five bloody Engagements at Sea against the *Dutch*, in most of which the *English* were Victorious. *O. Cromwell* called another *Junto* this year, which was termed the *Little Parliament*, who sate some short time, and then delivered back their Power to him from whom they had received it; And *December* 16. 1653. *Cromwell* was Sworn Lord Protector of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, &c. And so the Government was now again in a single Person, and in *April* after, the Protector concluded a Peace with the *Dutch*, whose aid and assistance the King had strongly solicited against him.

His Majesty after this sought a reconciliation between *France* and *Spain*, and hoping thereby to further his own Interest, he left *France*, and departed for *Germany*, accompanied with his Cousin Prince *Rupert*; about which time *Cromwell* had discovered a Plot in *England* against his Authority, and Collonel *Gerard* and Mr. *Vowell* Suffered for the same at *Tower-Hill*; *Scotland* began likewise to stir against the Earl of *Glencarn*, *Monro*, and *Middleton*, having gotten some Forces together, intended to have prosecuted the Kings Cause, but they were routed by General *Monk* and Collonel *Morgan.*

According to the Treaty with *France*, *Cromwell* sent over some Forces to aid the *French* in his Wars against *Flanders*, and the *English* were to have *Dunkirk* in consideration thereof, which up

taking of it was accordingly delivered. In the same year 1656. *Cromwell* by a Parliament garbled to his mind, was installed L. Protector in *Westminster-Hall*: and a while after another Plot was discovered; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewet*, Mr. *Afton* and Mr. *Stacy*, suffered Death upon the same Account, the two first being Beheaded, and the other Drawn, Hanged and Quartered, being charged to be concerned therein.

Upon *Sept.* 3. 1658. *O. Cromwell* departed this life in *White-hall*, and lay in State in *Somerset-house* till *Nov.* 23 following, when he was buried with great Pomp in *West. Abby*: After whom his Son *Richard* Succeeded, but was soon thrust out of his Protectorship by *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*; who with the rest of the Army called the *Long Parliament* again; after which several Gentlemen in *Cheshire* under the conduct of Sir *George Booth* rose for defence of their Priviledges, but were defeated by *Lambert*; who soon after turned out this *remnant* of the *Long Parliament* again, & erected a Government which they called the *Committee of Safety*. All which Revolutions still advanced the Kings Cause; *Lambert* now marches *North* as far as *Newcastle* to fight against Gen. *Monk*, but his men were unwilling to engage; and in the mean time the *remainder* of the *Long Parliament* had again gotten together, and dissolved the *Committee of Safety*, and then invited General *Monk* to march with his Army to *London*, which he did accordingly, and was received with Joy, and soon after he procured the Dissolution of that *Long Parliament*; and he calling another upon *April* 25. 1660. His Majesty having notice thereof, sent several Letters to the Lords, Commons, G. *Monk*, &c. and likewise His Gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects as followeth.

Charles R.

CHARLES *by the Grace of God King of* England, *&c. Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the General Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing, that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up all we can say will be to no purpose; However after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto, and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the possession of that Right which God and Nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the* Divine Providence, *that he will in compassion to us and our Subjects, and after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable*

possession

Poſſeſſion of that our Right, with as little blood and a damage to our People as is poſſible; nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours than that our Subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and intire Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deſerved.

And to the end that the fear of puniſhment may not ingage any Conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Countrey in the Reſtoration both of King, Peers and People *to their juſt, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights, we do by theſe Preſents declare that we do grant a* Free and General Pardon, *which we are ready upon demand, to paſs under Our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what degree or Quality ſoever, who within 40 days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty & Obedience of Good Subjects: excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by* Parliament; *Thoſe only excepted, let all our Subjects how faulty ſoever rely upon the word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration that no Crime whatſoever committed againſt us or our Roy. Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgement, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) ſo much as to the Prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of diſtinction from the reſt of any of Our beſt Subjects, We deſiring and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Diſcord, Separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſhed amongſt all our Subjects, whom we invite, and conjure to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, under your Protection, for the Reſettlement of our juſt Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which upon the word of a King we will be adviſed.*

And becauſe the Paſſion, and uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other, which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; we do declare a Liberty to Tender Conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted or called in Queſtion for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that

we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the free granting that Indulgence.

And because in the continual distractions of so many years and so many and great revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to, and by many Officers, Souldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon several Titles; We are likewise willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purchases shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parl. to the purposes aforesaid; and for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under the Command of G. Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign *Manual* & Pri. *Signet*, at our Court at *Breda*, 14 day of *Apr.* 1660. in the 12*th.* year of our Reign.

The Parl. being late, unanimously Voted the restauration of His Majesty to his Kingdom, and accordingly upon *May* 29. following, the K. accompanied with the D. of *York* and *Glocester*, and attended with several Lords and Gentlemen arrived at *Dover*, where he was met by divers noble Personages, and among the rest G. *Monk*, who was dignified with the George and Garter.

In *Octob.* following several of the Regicides of the late King were Tryed in the *Old-Bayly*; & ten of them Executed at *Charing-Cross*, that is, *Tho. Harrison*, *Jo. Carew*, *Adr. Scrop*, *Jo. Jones*, *Greg Clement*, *Tho. Scot*, *John Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtel*.

Mary Princess of *Orange* coming over to visit the K. her Brother, fell sick of the Small Pox & dyed, & in *Jan.* after cut *Venner* a Wine-cooper, & some others in whom he had confided *Enthusiastick* Principles put themselves in Arms, & came into the City, but being opposed, they slew 22. of his Majesties Subjects, and about as many of them were slain, and the rest were taken and dispersed; 11 of whom, and *Venner* their Leader were executed in several places in the City.

In the beginning of the next year P. *Henry* D. of *Glocester* died and upon *Apr.* 23. following, being St *Georges* day, His M. K. *Charles* the 2. was Crowned at *Westminster* with great Splendor and Solemnity, having the day before made a Magnificent Passage from the *Tower* through the City of *London* (where 4 curious Pageants were erected) to *Whitehall*. And here we shall conclude this abstract of so many various affairs, wishing all happiness to his Majesty, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion for ever. FINIS.

Poſſeſſion of that our Right, with as little blood and a damage
our People as is poſſible; nor do we deſire more to enjoy what
o rs than that our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs,
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IRREGULAR PAGINA

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FINIS.

Poſſeſſion of that our Right, with as little blood and a damage to our People as is poſſible; nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours than that our Subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and intire Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deſerved.

And to the end that the fear of puniſhment may not ingage any Conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future, by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their Country in the Reſtoration both of King, Peers *and* People *to their juſt, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights, we do by theſe Preſents declare that we do grant a* Free and General Pardon, *which we are ready upon demand, to paſs under Our Great Seal of* England, *to all our Subjects of what degree or Quality ſoever, who within* 40 *days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loyalty of Obedience of Good Subjects: excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by* Parliament; *Thoſe only excepted, let all our Subjects how faulty ſoever rely upon the word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration that no Crime whatſoever committed againſt us or our Roy. Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in Judgement, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Endamagement of them, either in their Lives, Liberties or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our Power) ſo much as to the Prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of diſtinction from the reſt of any of Our best Subjects, We deſiring and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Diſcord, Separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly aboliſhed amongſt all our Subjects, whom we invite, and conjure to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, under your Protection, for the Reſettlement of our juſt Rights and theirs, in a free Parliament, by which upon the word of a King we will be adviſed.*

And becauſe the Paſſion, and uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by which men are ingaged in Parties and Animoſities againſt each other, which when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation will be compoſed, or better underſtood; we do declare a Liberty to Tender Conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted or called in Queſtion for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that

re shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the free granting that Indulgence.

And because in the continual distractions of so many years and so many and great revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to, and by many Officers, Souldiers, and others who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law upon several Titles; We are likewise willing, that all such differences, and all things relating to the said Grants, Sales and Purchases shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parl. to the purposes aforesaid; and for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Souldiers of the Army under the Command of G. Monk, and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign *Manual* & Pri. *Signet*, at our Court at *Breda*, 14 day of *Apr.* 1660. in the 12*th.* year of our Reign.

The Parl. being late, unanimously Voted the restauration of His Majesty to his Kingdom, and accordingly upon *May* 29. following, the K. accompanied with the D. of *York* and *Gloucester*, and attended with several Lords and Gentlemen arrived at *Dover*, where he was met by divers noble Personages, and among the rest G. *Monk*, who was dignified with the George and Garter.

In *Octob.* following several of the Regicides of the late King were Tryed in the *Old-Bayly*; & ten of them Executed at *Charing-Cross*, that is, *Tho. Harrison*, *Jo. Carew*, *Adr. Scrop*, *Jo. Jones*, *Greg Clement*, *Tho. Scot*, *John Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, and *Daniel Axtel*. *Mary* Princess of *Orange* coming over to visit the K. her Brother, fell sick of the Small Pox & dyed, & in *Jan.* after that *Venner* a Wine-cooper, & some others in whom he had confided *Enthusiastick* Principles put themselves in Arms, & came into the City, but being opposed, they kill 22. of his Majesties Subjects, and about as many of them were slain, and the rest were taken and dispersed; 11 of whom, and *Venner* their Leader were executed in several places in the City.

In the beginning of the next year P. *Henry* D. of *Gloucester* died and upon *Apr.* 23. following, being St *Georges* day, His M. K. *Charles* the 2. was Crowned at *Westmin.* with great Splendor and Solemnity, having the day before made a Magnificent Passage from the *Tower* through the City of *London* (where 4 curious Pageants were erected) to *Whitehall*. And here we shall conclude this abstract of so many various affairs, wishing all happiness to his Majesty, and the preservation of the Protestant Religion for ever. FINIS.

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